



# THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

# **The Making of a New Downtown:**

urban place-making  
in HafenCity, Hamburg, Germany

Nico Stefanovics

In fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
School of GeoSciences

The University of Edinburgh

2016



## Thesis abstract

This study inspects how an urban place is made in HafenCity, Hamburg, currently one of Europe's largest urban development projects. This process is illustrated as a co-production of residential initiative and planners' facilitation in developing a nascent urban district into a self-sustained community. The qualitative approach draws on interviews with 55 residents, interviews with planning agents and participant observation. Planners' agendas and policies are set in relation to residents' local activities, to display how physical engineering and social appropriation are moments conjoined in urban place-making.

Newly-built riverside developments have commonly been characterised as enclaves of private affluence with weak attachments of their residents to the local area. Middle class professionals enjoy a readymade lifestyle marked by private consumption and domestic services that enable them to socially disengage from their surrounding neighbourhood. HafenCity bucks this trend in regard to its dynamic neighbourhood life unfolding among its residents. It is argued that the situation of first-time occupation of a neighbourhood spurs the development of residential relationships and their intensification more readily than in established neighbourhoods. An initial merely aesthetic identification of incoming residents with the lures of their chosen destination is a precondition for the generation of farther reaching identifications, epitomised in engagements with place as something valorised in its own right.

The facilitation of such associations is grounded in the intersection of two important factors. As a residential site, HafenCity selectively attracts educated middle class cohorts, implying that cultural capital concentrates within a very confined geographical setting that characterised HafenCity at its earliest stage. The personal identification of many incomers with HafenCity as a place of desire and their resulting optimism after arrival translates into a shared positive sense of place among individuals feeling similarly. This 'community in the mind' facilitates familiarisation among residents and the transition of neighbourly interactions into more meaningful voluntary associations serving needs of sociability, cultural



indulgence, economic wellbeing, and most prominently, political engagement seeking to make HafenCity's official planning policy more foreseeable and accountable. In essence, the abundance of cultural capital at the neighbourhood scale acts as a favourable condition for its conversion into social capital for the advancement of a new area into a community of strong residential ties marked by attentiveness to one another's needs.

The spatial situation of 'under-construction' encourages residents to voluntary engagement in HafenCity's development policy. While the planning authority itself stimulates such participative mechanisms, they are at the same time concessions made to legitimise and reinforce the power held by this authority. As a consequence, participation in the development process becomes an ambiguous amalgam of volunteering and institutional intervention. While participation facilitates dialogical structures between residents and planners, it does not increase residents' actual influence in urban policy making. Through their facilitation of residents' place-making, planners can credit themselves with treating the issue of planning in a foresighted way that refutes notions of technocratic blindness to human needs. Such active promotion of residents' attachments to their place however has its limits. While planners have a vested interest in an active residential community they can showcase as a testimonial to the reasonability of their agenda, they are unable to resolve conflicts of interests among residents that thwart the project of joint place-making. The scope of planners in collaborative place-making is circumscribed by the competencies of an authority that de-legitimises the actual engineering of interpersonal relationships at the neighbourhood level.

## Thesis lay summary

This study inspects how an urban place is made in HafenCity, Hamburg, currently one of Europe's largest urban development projects. This process is illustrated as a co-production of residents and urban planners in building a community from 'scratch'. The data collected on the development project comprises interviews I conducted with residents, planners and charities. Newly-built riverside developments have been portrayed by social scientists as communities in which residents focus on local consumption opportunities, while ties between each other are weakly developed. HafenCity bucks this trend in regard to its dynamic neighbourhood life unfolding among its residents. It is argued that the situation of first-time occupation of a neighbourhood spurs the development of residential relationships more readily than in established neighbourhoods with an incumbent population. Ties are facilitated between residents who are socially similar as educated middle class members and are easily accessible for one another in a confined geographical setting. The personal identification of many incomers with HafenCity as a place of desire and their resulting optimism after arrival translates into a shared positive sense of place. This 'community in the mind' facilitates familiarisation among residents and the transition of neighbourly interactions into more meaningful voluntary associations. Such associations serve needs of sociability, cultural activity, economic wellbeing, and most prominently, political engagement seeking to make HafenCity's official planning policy more foreseeable and accountable.

The spatial situation of 'under-construction' encourages residents to voluntary engagement in HafenCity's development policy. While the planners admit mechanisms for voluntary participation, these concessions are at the same time a means to legitimise and reinforce the power held by them. As a consequence, participation in the development process becomes an ambiguous coproduction of volunteering and institutional intervention. While participation improves communication between residents and planners, it does not increase residents' actual influence in policy making. By allowing for such participation, planners can credit themselves with treating the issue of planning in a foresighted way that refutes

notions of technocratic blindness to human needs. Such active promotion of residents' attachments to their place however has limits. While planners have a vested interest in an active residential community they can showcase as a proof to the reasonability of their policies, they are unable to resolve conflicts of interests among residents that thwart the project of joint place-making. The scope of planners in collaborative place-making is circumscribed by their competencies that de-legitimise the engineering of inter-personal relationships at the neighbourhood level.

## **Declaration of Originality**

I hereby declare that the composition and content of this thesis is my own work and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, for any other qualification at this institution or any other.

Nico Stefanovics

March 2016

Signature .....

Date .....



## Acknowledgements

There are so many people who supported me that I can hardly pay tribute to all of them here. In the first place I would like to thank my principal supervisor Eric Laurier for his invaluable commitment over the last three years. Without his inspiring comments and suggestions and his sympathy, this work would not have reached its grade of quality. My gratitude also goes to Caleb Johnston and Tom Slater for their helpful advice given during their time as my supervisors. My special thanks go to Jane M Jacobs, my principal supervisor over the first two years. Jane's dedication secured me the scholarships sustaining my research over the years, and helped to proceed confidently with my fieldwork in Hamburg. The illustrative richness of this work would have been impossible without the willingness of the numerous residents of HafenCity, and of all other interviewees to participate in my research. I would also like to firmly acknowledge the assistance provided by Marcus Menzl and the insights he gave me on HafenCity. I am also very grateful for the generous financial support through my funding agencies: the Economic and Social Research Council, the School of GeoSciences at the University of Edinburgh, the College of Science and Engineering at the University of Edinburgh, and the Global Environment and Society Academy Doctoral Network. Furthermore, I am much obliged to my proof-reader Jenny Kallin, whose corrections enabled me to redress numerous language deficiencies. I particularly thank Yunpeng Zhang for devoting his time as a proof-reader next to his university job, and the valuable hints I received from him. Cheers also to my friends at the Geography Department for their warmth and support, which made this time at University a so much more enjoyable experience. For their proof-reading assistance I would like to particularly thank David, Yannick, Luise, Julian, Tim, and Graeme. Finally, I am very much indebted to my parents. Without the immeasurable moral and material support of my mother and the acknowledgement of my father, this work could never have been accomplished.



# Contents

Thesis abstract.....	iii
Thesis lay summary.....	v
Declaration of Originality.....	vii
Acknowledgements.....	ix
List of figures.....	xv
List of images.....	xv
List of tables.....	xvii
List of abbreviations used in citations.....	xvii
<b>1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 New Downtowns.....	1
1.2 Place-making in HafenCity.....	8
1.3 Structure of the thesis.....	10
<b>2 Literature review on urban place-making.....</b>	<b>15</b>
2.1 Reinvesting into the urban core.....	15
2.2 Middle class re-attraction to the post-industrial downtown: the case of 'new-build gentrification'.....	19
2.3 Re-making the inner-city as a residential site.....	25
2.4 The metropolitan habitus.....	28
2.5 The flight from social obligations in new-build developments.....	33
2.6 Residential attachments at the micro-scale.....	37
2.7 Residential participation in redevelopment.....	39
2.8 Research Questions.....	40



<b>3</b>	<b>Methodology: a qualitative research approach.....</b>	<b>45</b>
3.1	Introduction.....	45
3.2	Field access.....	46
3.3	Interviewing residents.....	51
3.4	Interviewing planners.....	53
3.5	Participant observation.....	54
3.6	Relations to the field and their limits.....	56
3.7	Ethical issues.....	58
3.8	Data transcription and analysis.....	61
3.9	A note on translation.....	64
<b>4</b>	<b>Context: Germany, Hamburg, HafenCity.....</b>	<b>65</b>
4.1	Introduction.....	65
4.2	Hamburg - a historical sketch of Germany's leading port.....	66
4.2.1	A free city in the Holy-Roman Empire.....	66
4.2.2	Germany's largest port.....	68
4.2.3	Hamburg as a member state of contemporary Germany.....	70
4.3	Urban Redevelopment in Germany since 1945.....	71
4.4	Urban development in Hamburg since the industrial age.....	77
4.4.1	Industrial growth and demolition in the 19th century.....	77
4.4.2	The institutionalisation of urban planning in the early 20th century.....	78
4.4.3	Modernist large-scale planning after World War II.....	80
4.4.4	Attempts at 'careful urban renewal' and the protection of neighbourhoods.....	83

4.4.5	Hamburg's return to the waterfront.....	85
4.4.6	A conservative Senate and its 'Growing City' agenda.....	88
4.5	The planning framework for HafenCity.....	101
4.5.1	High quality land development through public control.....	101
4.5.2	The aspect of social class in a residential project.....	104
4.6	The first resident.....	111
<b>5</b>	<b>A new downtown and planned urbanity.....</b>	<b>125</b>
5.1	Introduction.....	125
5.2	Controlled land development for promoting diversity.....	132
5.3	Urbanity as a process rather than linear implementation.....	139
5.4	Engineering capacities for public encounter.....	145
5.5	Filling a vacuum of political representation.....	152
5.6	Conclusion.....	159
<b>6</b>	<b>Bottom-up urban place-making by incoming residents.....</b>	<b>161</b>
6.1	Introduction.....	161
6.2	Resistance to planning hegemony.....	164
6.3	Online interaction as a forerunner of face-to-face encounters.....	167
6.4	A dinner group connecting middle class fractions.....	170
6.5	A common room as an incubator for voluntary associations.....	177
6.6	Reinforcing attachment to place through journalistic activity.....	186
6.7	Neighbourhood use for career advancement.....	190
6.8	Innovation of place and pioneer rhetoric.....	199
6.9	Conclusion.....	201

<b>7</b>	<b>Top-down and bottom up place-making: how it comes together in HafenCity.....</b>	<b>205</b>
7.1	Introduction.....	205
7.2	The intricacies of cooperation between planners and volunteers.....	207
7.3	Reinforcing attachments to place through participative planning.....	215
7.4	Tensions between planned and lived urbanity: contestations over spatial use.....	227
7.5	Strengthening ties to the planner: a neighbourhood advisory board.....	232
7.6	Cooperative place-making and its limits.....	236
7.7	Conclusion.....	245
<b>8</b>	<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>249</b>
	<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>261</b>
	<b>Appendix: Sociodemographic data of residents interviewed.....</b>	<b>A-1</b>

## List of figures

Figure 4.1	Timeline HafenCity: the evolvement of a new downtown.....	95
Figure 4.2	SINUS social milieus in Germany 2012.....	107
Figure 5.1	Map of HafenCity bordering on the old downtown.....	128
Figure 6.1	Map showing location of Katharinenviertel.....	188

## List of images

Image 3.1	The author with residents enjoying home-made mulled wine in December 2010 .....	57
Image 3.2	Volunteering with residents at a sales tent of a HafenCity Christmas market.....	59
Image 3.3	Helping out at a residents' bake-sale at Hamburg's annual harbour anniversary.....	61
Image 4.1	Aerial view HafenCity.....	88
Image 4.2	Buildings at Sandtorkai with 'overhanging' structures leaving space for pedestrians underneath.....	112
Image 4.3	Sitting area in Frank's living room with a view of the wave-like torso of Hamburg's new philharmonic.....	117
Image 4.4	Frank and the author celebrating a birthday with some of Frank's friends from HafenCity.....	123
Image 5.1	The Magellan Terraces.....	126
Image 5.2	The Marco-Polo-Terraces.....	127
Image 5.3	HafenCity information centre.....	130
Image 5.4	Projected development plan for HafenCity.....	132
Image 5.5	Housing cooperatives in HafenCity on Kaiserkai.....	136
Image 5.6	HafenCity's eastern sections.....	142

Image 5.7	School centre Katharinenschule.....	145
Image 5.8	Planned housing blocks at Baakenhafen.....	151
Image 5.9	Street Sandtorkai.....	154
Image 5.10	The first two completed streets Sandtorkai and Kaiserkai.....	156
Image 6.1	Housing Cooperative Bergedorf-Bille.....	177
Image 6.2	Welcome-package for new residents.....	180
Image 6.3	Senior pastor from the church St. Katharinenkirche.....	182
Image 6.4	Flea-market run by residents.....	185
Image 6.5	HafenCity Zeitung: residentially run news paper.....	189
Image 6.6	HafenCity Business Port & HafenCity Merchandise.....	195
Image 6.7	Souvenirs from HafenCity Merchandise.....	196
Image 6.8	Chapel of the Ecumenical Forum (1).....	198
Image 6.9	Chapel of the Ecumenical Forum (2).....	198
Image 6.10	Chapel of the Ecumenical Forum (3).....	198
Image 7.1	A play ground co-designed by parents.....	222
Image 7.2	Spielhaus: a weather and windproof cabin for children.....	223
Image 7.3	Inside Spielhaus.....	224
Image 7.4	Basketball on Vasco-da-Gama-Platz.....	229
Image 7.5	Scheduled basketball playing times.....	231
Image 7.6	Ombudsman Menzl in a conversation with parents.....	238
Image 7.7	Menzl discussing the programme for a residents' festival.....	238

## **Tables**

Table 4.1	Reasons for moving to HafenCity.....	114
-----------	--------------------------------------	-----

## **List of abbreviations used in citations**

I = Interview

PO = Episode of participant observation

PO-NW = Participant observation at the advisory board HafenCity  
Netzwerk

PO-DG = Participant observation at a residents' dinner group



# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 New downtowns

In recent years, the central city section of Hamburg's expansive docklands has visibly changed. Harbour facilities dominating the waterfront until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century have given way to eccentric office towers, hotels and condominiums. Manufacturing sites concentrated in pockets around the harbour are gradually being replaced by buildings symbolising a post-industrial economy. Of course, such urban redevelopment in response to industrial decline is nothing new. With the waning significance of maritime trade in the post-war decades, the first urban sites that underwent fundamental conversion were harbours. Due to innovations such as container storage, but also increasing motorised and aircraft mobility, the significance of ship transport diminished. Beginning with US-cities such as Baltimore and Boston, harbour docks with obsolete technology were subjected to urban renewal schemes and transformed into spaces dedicated to 'clean' and white-collar work for a rising service economy (Goss 1996; Ley 1996). Through the corporate creation of 'festival market places' (Boyer 1992; O'Brien 1997; Schubert 2001a) for leisure, spectacles and tourism, the waterfront was being opened to the broader population. Replicated successfully across port cities in the US, these places prioritised consumption over production and epitomised the withdrawal of investments from the ailing industrial city and into a rising service economy.

In their edited collection 'New Downtowns', Helbrecht and Dirksmeier (2012) have suggested how such remaking of old port areas and other obsolete industrial sites in central areas has given rise to a new form of urban place. Land is cleared from factories, warehouses, dockyards and railway depots and re-developed into new central urban districts. While they may complement a city's historical core frequently located close by, such 'new' centres explicitly distinguish themselves from it, in terms of the forces they are driven by, their character, and use designation (ibid). Opportunities for creating new downtowns have arisen particularly in cities where large industrial sites have become technically obsolete or unprofitable and have been forced to shut down. New downtowns are typically state-driven developments. Large



areas vacated from factories or warehouse districts are seized by urban administrations and re-conceptualised for post-industrial uses, in order to carve out a niche within a globalised society (Helbrecht and Dirksmeier *ibid*: 2-3). City administrations offer municipally held land for sale to private property developers. They commonly create incentives by sponsoring access roads, transport lines and other infrastructure.

As urban mega-projects, new downtowns are exemplary for the state's shift from a mere regulator of real-estate development through subsidies or zoning laws to its active promoter, from urban 'managerialism' to 'entrepreneurialism' (Harvey 1989). In a globally expanding economy in which money and people become increasingly footloose, inter-urban competition becomes a practice from which city administrations can hardly withdraw. In this vein, particularly European cities have proclaimed an *Urban Renaissance* for the promotion of policies aiming to make the urban setting into an attractive destination for financial and 'human' capital (Imrie and Raco 2003; Lees 2008; Helbrecht 2012). Local wealth and prosperity are to be sustained through the attraction of investments and inhabitants who are educationally skilled, innovative and economically productive, and solvent as consumers and tax payers.

As Helbrecht and Dirksmeier (2012) argue, with these places a new kind of 'urbanity' arises. This urbanity is not defined in the contingent human relations and haphazard encounters that arise with dense agglomeration and frequent interaction in public. It is instead a condition that is to some extent prescribed and engineered by planners. New downtowns place value on intermeshing urban spheres such as dwelling, retail, work, and recreation, after decades of a mono-functional trend of city centres towards commercial and office use (*ibid*: 2-3). This *new* downtown has emerged with the convergence of two historical developments that intensified particularly toward the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One is the reappraisal of the city by middle classes and its subsequent gentrification, which had reinstated the central city as a key locus for urban development by the 1990s (Ley 1996; Smith 1996; Wyly and Hammel 2001; Hackworth 2002; Philips 2004; Bounds 2005). In parallel, economic globalisation has redefined centrality by way of loosening the significance

of the old historic centre and local core-periphery hierarchies, instead giving way to new places of centrality.

A popular version of the new downtown that numerous municipalities have sought to replicate is the idea of the city as 'organic', with a dense juxtaposition of private, public and semi-public uses. The idea that a variety of uses attractive to many will animate an urban area dates back to Jane Jacobs's manifesto from the 1960s and has found its way into more recent design philosophies such as *New urbanism* or the *Urban village* (Duany and Plater-Zyberk 1992; Katz 1994; Talen 1999; Franklin and Tait 2002). Borrowing to some extent from these teachings, new downtowns of densely mixed uses are to invoke the urban bustle associated with the late 19th and early 20th century: commerce, culture and civic life intersected, complemented by a scenery of market booths, street performers and political campaigners. New downtowns seek to replicate this condition through a spatial concentration of attractions: densely built blocks of flats, esplanades teeming with events and festivals, museums and concert halls, and specialised retail areas with cafes and dining places.

Most prominently port cities, with the historical heritage of their centres as busy trade and turnover sites, and a centrally located water scenery, have been most successful in creating a new centrality. Remnants of harbour terminals and warehouses serve as nostalgic signifiers of a once bustling harbour setting. Celebrated as the cultural heritage of a bygone production era, a former environment of heavy labour is romanticised for the sensuous enjoyment by locals and tourists - without the noise, dirt and sweat that used to accompany it (Boyer 1992, 1994). In riverside developments like the London Docklands, the waterfront has been lined by referents to the industrial age, such as discarded harbour cranes. Placed in front of glossy post-modern structures of steel, granite and glass, they are divorced from their original meaning as tools for laborious work, work that has run into oblivion. In this vein, the past is preserved by selectively exploiting its symbols for a purely visual aesthetic; This chimes with the diagnosis on urban restructuring Zukin (1991: 180) made more than 20 years ago:

As the central image and image of centrality of the modern city, downtown is also the site of a paradoxical struggle between

economic and cultural values. At the same time it gives material form to the symbolic rupture between development and disinvestment.

As the quote suggests, in parallel to urbanity, the phenomenon of *centrality* is now also different to what it used to be over centuries of urban history. Traditionally, urban centres emerged organically with the intersection of trade routes spurring further economic activities and settlement nearby and were thus the result of a 'social order' (Helbrecht and Dirksmeier 2012: 17). Today, authorities and planners instead push forward urban development deliberately attracting and concentrating economic activity; centrality has become something that is being planned and produced in a targeted way (Imrie and Raco 2003).

New downtowns arise at the confluence of two major trends: the rediscovery of old centres due to gentrification leading to a new centrality, and a transformed urbanity in the wake of a globalised (world) society (Helbrecht and Dirksmeier 2012: 3). A re-appreciation of the inner city as a place of residence has already expressed itself over several decades in the gentrification of old working-class districts. By contrast, new central city areas devised and prepared for varying combinations of business, housing and leisure are a developer produced version of gentrification. New downtowns typically concentrate high-end service jobs, chic boutique style shopping and up-market residency by way of 'urban consolidation' (Waitt 2004: 15) in order to further consolidate middle and upper-middle class fractions in the inner city (Davidson and Lees 2005; Allen 2007; Bromley, Tallon and Roberts 2007). These spaces are geared to those working in the creative economy, a cohort among professionals that has grown over the last four decades in conjunction with the expansion of the IT sector and other new media industries (Pratt 2010; Peck 2005; Kloosterman 2012). Many urban administrators have heeded the imperative of Richard Florida (2005) to revamp their centres into playgrounds for the 'creative classes': in order to remain economically viable, sustainable and competitive in a globalised age, a city ought to make itself attractive particularly for those involved with the innovation of ideas - working in fields like the media, the applied arts, and the wider cultural sector (Landry 2000). In this vein, cities like Amsterdam (Kloosterman 2012), Nottingham (Shorthose 2004) or Sydney (Bounds 2006) have designated new downtowns as 'cultural quarters' infused with the vision of making

the urban into a more liveable experience for artists and new media professionals coveted as residential target groups. Such mixed-use schemes combine flats with gallery spaces, workshops and cafes as places that are fun 'to live, work and play' (Bell and Jayne 2004) and supposedly stimulate creative synergies between those living and working cheek by bowl (Scott 2006).

Since the millennium turn, the northern German port city Hamburg has been working to create its very own version of a new downtown on its abandoned docklands, under the name *HafenCity* ('HarbourCity'). While the harbour always was and continues to be the city's economic backbone, its modernisation and consequent relocation has rendered its most centrally located section available for alternative uses. These two entangled islands of 1.5 square kilometres size have been successively cleared from their underused port infrastructure. In its place, a densely built mixed-use neighbourhood is being erected since the end of the last millennium. Celebrated as Europe's largest urban development project at the time of this study, HafenCity is envisaged to become an extension to Hamburg's adjacent old city core (Meyhöfer 2009: 257). Initiated and orchestrated by the city administration, that retains control over the envisaged 25-year development period (Hampel 2004: 1999), HafenCity exemplifies the state acting as the driving force in urban real-estate development. While the municipality to some extent preconceives the place's physical and social structure through tendering procedures and land use designations, HafenCity comes into being through a variety of involved agencies. These include planners, developers, incoming residents, retailers, and charitable institutions. In this vein, the thesis sets out to trace how both institutional and human agents co-produce a new urban place over roughly the first ten years from its inception. It aims to carve out how the particular shape of early HafenCity arises with the interplay of official authorities in charge and the variety of people positioning themselves in the area for their particular interests.

A particular ambition underlying this new development is the re-establishment of Hamburg's central city as a place for residential use after decades of urban flight (Schubert 2002: 105). During the 1990s, the central docklands concentrating on Hamburg's river *Elbe* lost their significance to the container port rapidly expanding in sections more remote from Hamburg's city centre. Before this

background, the municipality had identified this central port area as a unique opportunity for reinvigorating the inner city for residential use (Walter 2012: 11-12). The optimism expressed in this prospect chimes with a 'back-to-the-city-movement' promulgated already more than three decades ago by US urban administrations (Laska and Spain 1980). But rather than an actual reversal of suburbanisation, 'back-to-the-city' also in this case instead reflects a reinvigorated interest of authorities in remaking the central city into a place for dwelling. It is this emergence of a residential setting 'from scratch' that distinguishes HafenCity from more conventional urban neighbourhoods.

In this regard, several characteristics of HafenCity as an emerging residential community justified its choice as a research subject:

- First, a new urban place was being created in collaboration of different agencies - a municipal planning authority, local welfare-sector organisations, and incoming residents. While the planner's position articulated a city administration's ambition to demographic and economic growth, the part played by residents moving into the new area was less straightforward. Although they moved into an estate produced in line with a corporate development agenda, it would be misleading to speak of a 'readymade' environment. The individual buildings occupied had been recently completed, whereas the immediate surrounding was in many cases still provisional. Due to ongoing construction works, early incomers encountered a state of transition and unsettledness, a situation that contrasted with previous experiences of inhabited place. Although HafenCity was designated as a self-contained neighbourhood with commercial and public services, most of these were not yet in place. Most prominently, many residents reported that exactly because they knew they were moving to an area bare of an incumbent population and instead marked by temporary scaffolding and construction pits, they had no concrete expectations about it.

Most incomers had registered the development authority's comprehensive marketing package with its glossy image brochures. Yet,

much of this were only projections of how the place *could* be like one day, and were insufficient to instil concrete imaginaries of place. This lack of an established sense of place acted as an incentive for incomers to engage with their new environment after arrival. The geographically insular and detached character of HafenCity, along with building works permanently changing its character, nurtured a lack of 'ontological security' (Giddens 1982) among residents. Such missing certainty over place was however not necessarily a downside. Early residents experienced the state of under-construction as a challenge and chance to new kinds of experiences at once. As an infill project inserted into a densely populated urban surrounding, HafenCity united a residential estate with spaces of commerce and work and sculptured open areas figuring as visitor attractions. As I will expound, residents' relations to the local area were also influenced by the presence and interests of such other population groups impinging on their everyday life and in this vein fostering a shared sense of community.

- Second, HafenCity was a community becoming occupied while construction works were fully under way. It was developed and populated in consecutive stages, so that the physical and social appropriation of a place were entangled. The opportunity to study how settlement patterns occur in such a compressed way does not arise too often. The early occupancy phase of recent new-build communities has been dealt with to some extent in portrayals of corporate residential developments in London's Docklands (Butler and Robson 2003; Butler 2007) and family gentrifiers in Amsterdam's Eastern Docklands (Karsten 2003). At the start of my own study, a smaller cohort of residents had moved in already five years ago, while others had arrived much more recently. In this vein, inhabitants' relations to place in variation with their residential biographies and experiences of various development stages became comparable.
- Third, while a multitude of real-estate agents contribute to HafenCity's development, the overall coordination and monitoring remains in the hands of

a single developer. A municipal masterplan formulates general planning objectives, in the fashion of earlier cases of planned communities. Scholars have been interested in such large-scale developments as they are infused with the idea that human agglomeration can be ideally organised through planning (Falconer Al-Hindi and Staddon 1997; Minnery and Bajracharya 1999; Goodman et al. 2010; Gwyther 2005; Rosenblatt et al. 2009). In some cases, the planner-developer's influence becomes extended to the degree of a community administrator acting in place of a mayor. In the case of HafenCity, the planners devised particular mechanisms for encouraging residents to participate in the project's development procedure. This was a model of governance encompassing elements of voluntary citizen action as well as institutional orchestration. It was of interest to planners in terms animating residents to become committed and take over responsibility for their immediate environment from an early phase of its construction.

## **1.2 Place-making in HafenCity**

I was interested in the ways residents identified with HafenCity as a locus transcending the narrow sphere of their private home. What factors animated them to form connections with one another and their local environment? The proliferation of residential initiatives and associations were at odds with the widespread observation made by scholars that neighbours have lost the significance they used to have for middle class individuals and their households. The expansion of the welfare state and technological innovation (particularly mass communication and mobility) have loosened the dependence on the neighbourhood (Riger 1981; Lee et al 1984; Bulmer 1986; Langdon 1994; MacCannell 1999; Forrest and Kearns 2001; Blokland 2003; Wellman 2005). Reliance on one's neighbours as a source of care and support has drastically diminished with the professionalisation and commodification of care services (Blokland 2003: 111). Notwithstanding variations between social groups, the consequent spatial disentanglement of the home and primary activities like work, shopping and leisure has expanded personal networks of affiliation. Against this background, one of the questions this thesis investigates is why, in early-stage

HafenCity, networks of 'affinity' and 'proximity' overlapped (Riger 1981: 56). Residents voluntarily associating did not depend on their neighbours as a resource they could not have obtained in other (non-local) networks. HafenCity was above all a place invariably occupied by economically more stable households.

A preference for living in the city has been pinpointed by several scholars through the concept of 'habitus' originating with Bourdieu (1984). This is a lasting disposition individuals acquire as members of a class that predisposes them to think, feel and act in specific ways. At the core of a 'metropolitan' habitus shared by gentrifying middle classes is their embracement of socio-cultural diversity and other features associated with the city (Butler and Robson 2003; Savage 2005; Butler 2007; Webber 2007). A desire for the city and the preservation of its heritage and history has expressed itself in practices tightly connected to gentrification - rehabilitation of old buildings and campaigns to protect facilities seen as the 'authentic' cultural makeup of place (Caulfield 1989). Such place-making activity has been shown to be core to the identity of higher professionals and their successful reproduction as a class. This is the remaking of the neighbourhood according to their own ideals, such as a strong and diverse community life and environmental protection (Blokland 2008; Butler 2008).

HafenCity falls out of line here as a new place bare of historical architecture or any previously established social structures. However, the socio-demographic composition of its incoming residents reveals clear overlaps with classic gentrifiers: single and double-earner households of urban professionals and creative sector workers are well represented. Likewise, fair proportions of families, empty-nest households and retirees relate to patterns representing a younger phenomenon in gentrification, specifically shown to unfold in riverside developments and new downtowns I portrayed above (Karsten 2003; Davidson and Lees 2005; Bounds 2006; Boddy 2007; Butler 2007; Helbrecht 2012; Kloosterman 2012). These groups resemble a yet very recent phenomenon in gentrification associated with urban new-build developments (Davidson and Lees 2005; Bounds 2006; Ley 2012). However, since many residents in HafenCity had not relocated from somewhere else in the city but came from the suburbs or small towns, gentrifiers' classical preference schemes bore no satisfactory explanation. In this respect one of the tasks of this thesis is to



account for the different subjectivities of HafenCity residents and to carve out in what ways they resembled or deviated from the habituses and life styles diagnosed in earlier studies of middle class urban resettlement.

A main force driving residential attachments to the area was the HafenCity development corporation and its mediation of neighbourhood life. It is not uncommon for public administrations to accommodate residents at the neighbourhood level through the provision and improvement of facilities and services. In many cases, public funding and infrastructure programmes aim to ameliorate the situation of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, while fewer seek to maintain and enhance the attractiveness of socially stable middle class areas. Whether as beautification schemes in London, Peckham (Benson and Jackson 2012: 795), historical preservation projects in New Haven's 'Little Italy', (Blokland 2009: 1601), or campaigns to incite community participation and cohesion (Blokland and Rae 2009: 23f), such policies are not geared toward a residential community in isolation. They are oriented to the sustenance of a multitude of uses and population groups intersecting and concentrating in an urban area. The HafenCity development corporation forged its own version of a socio-political programme. Originally confining itself to marketing and information campaigns not uncommon to housing developments (Mills 1988; Butler, Robson 2003; Butler 2007), HafenCity's planning authority expanded its role to a co-director of residential life. The introduction of various forms of dialogue marked a turning point in the hitherto distanced and bureaucratic relationship maintained with residents. As I will discuss, the recognition that a nascent urban community was lacking common mechanisms for political representation inspired concessions to civic participation in the official development policies.

### **1.3 Structure of the thesis**

The thesis is organised into eight chapters. The introduction is followed by a literature review of contemporary urban place-making. The creation of large, contiguous developments on underused and de-industrialised urban land will be discussed as a marker of a globalised economy in which cities compete for the

attraction of capital, elites and jobs. Municipalities proactively incite private property development in central locations for the promotion of a city's investments and population growth. Although implicitly conceived for a plural urban society, the residential target populations for new downtowns are relatively homogenous and in line with the vision of a self-sustainable urban population. In the main, the well-established trend of middle class resettlement of the city takes on a slightly different twist here. The character of these new central spaces in terms of their social and material fabric will be set against classical processes of gentrification, to ascertain which particular role corporately produced neighbourhoods play for their residents.

Chapter three discusses my methodological approach of interviewing residents and planning institutions, as well as participant observation I also conducted.

Chapter four traces the origins of HafenCity as a political prestige project of the city of Hamburg. A brief history of Hamburg's planning tradition, particularly in respect to overarching planning ideologies dominant in Germany in the late 20th century, sets the context for the visionary project of HafenCity. Since resettlement of the downtown is at the core of the project, the specific approaches to housing policy in Hamburg will be inspected and exemplified for the case of Hamburg's urban growth scenario 'Growing City.'

Chapter five investigates the institutional setup of those officially in charge for developing HafenCity. The scope of the mega-project is justified and theoretically backed by the announcement of the creation of a new 'urbanity.' This is a two-pronged process accomplished by the interplay between (prescriptive) physical development and the more contingent development of place by incoming residents and other civic stakeholders positioning themselves in the new area. As HafenCity's development authorities are highly committed to create a socially acceptable and sustainable place, specific attention will be given to its pre-emptive policies for residential involvement in the development policy.

Chapter six examines the ways in which residents and other non-institutional agents settle in to HafenCity and contribute to make it into a place. While there are parallels to the motives and uses of place by residents of other European and US downtown developments, HafenCity's early residents will be shown to differ in particular ways. As I argue, they do not merely buy into a packaged lifestyle as disengaged consumers of place. They tend to affiliate more actively with their local area in neighbouring networks maintained at various levels of involvement. Commitment to actively shape the neighbourhood in voluntary associations is shown to be facilitated with the intersection of social and spatial factors: the local bundling of cultural resources among a population comprised of middle class professionals, and an unfamiliar, collective experience of place acting as a stimulant for their mobilisation. The *habitus* of such a cooperatively oriented residential faction is reinforced by a corporately boosted environment lending itself too varying dreams and imaginations about a community.

Chapter seven illustrates the entanglement of top-down and bottom-up place-making as a not always smooth process of accommodation and negotiation. While some neighbourhood organisations were initiated independently in voluntary corporations among residents and other civic agents, the viability of others is co-dependent on highly motivated individuals committed to leadership whose individual interests clash with collective place-making. The sense of community that allegedly induced residents to cooperate in joint projects will be shown to be overlain by more personal, temporary motives related to occupational or life-stage specific interests. While the development corporation aims to mediate in group conflicts, its inability to sustain cooperation will be displayed as grounded in the limits of its own definition as a governance authority.

Chapter eight recapitulates why HafenCity's strong community participation is an artefact tied to the early occupancy phase of a place. The concept of the residential *pioneer* concept has been critically addressed in gentrification literature. The notion of the pioneer unduly portrays middle class occupation of the inner-city as an adventurous event of discovery, thereby blanking out an incumbent working

class population (Smith 1996). In light of the findings that HafenCity is co-developed by the voluntary activities of its first-time occupants, the pioneer term will be revisited and expanded in its meaning.



## **2 Literature review on urban place-making**

### **2.1 Reinvesting into the urban core**

Geographers have illustrated in multiple ways how an urban setting is made into a place, a location that becomes attributed with certain patterns of use by interest-driven agents (Smith 1996; Lefebvre 2003; Pierce, Martin and Murphy 2011; Shaw and Montana 2014). For analytical reasons, there is a need to separate between authoritative bodies like the state, charitable agents and private enterprises on the one hand, and human individuals structured in their interests toward place as affiliates to a culture, social class, or set of kinship relations. As described by sociologist Löw (2001: 158-60), an urban place emerges with the occupation of a geographical setting through fixed objects and the subsequent ascriptions made to these objects by human agents, regarding their use, meaning or value. This entails the interpenetration of physically built structures and their appropriation by purposeful agents, demonstrating that urban places are inevitably co-productive accomplishments. Urban place-making cannot be adequately grasped through its individual agencies or as a process that would be neatly separable into stages of physical construction and subsequent patterns of occupancy. Tracing back the nature of making a new place like HafenCity - with its complications, discontinuities, and modifications - is in this vein a core task of this thesis.

The following literature review investigates how as an inner-urban setting, HafenCity relates to contemporary scholarship on the creation of urban places in western, economically advanced metropolises. It begins with a historical sketch of how the city, as opposed to sub-urban, rural or small-town settings, was rediscovered as a locus for real-estate development in the post-war era. While the reestablishment of inner-urban areas as sites for living, working and recreation will be identified as a capital driven achievement, this achievement will be shown to be dependent on cultural and social dynamics that reinstate the city as a sphere of identification for various population groups. Following the general consensus among most contemporary urban scholars, I argue that HafenCity reveals that contemporary urban development relies both on economic *production* as well as socio-cultural *consumption* of place (Zukin 1982, 1987; Rose 1984; Hamnett 1991; Slater 2006). At

the same time I challenge this bifurcated approach that reduces the social occupancy of a built environment to passive 'consumption.' Drawing on various studies of neighbourhood interaction and residents' attachments to place I will expose how place-making at the local level goes beyond human agency as a mere reaction or adaptation to designated uses or functions of an environment.

Urban development does not occur at the same intensity over time but is largely dependent on the fluctuations of real-estate capital in dependence on the economy's overall constitution (Harvey 1990; Smith 1996). As critical geographers illustrated, in capitalist economies urban land is dominantly perceived under the aspect of its exchange value rather than the value given in its uses (Molotch 1976; Harvey 1990; Lefebvre 1991; Smith 1996). As Smith (1996) extensively expounded, the re-orientation of capital investment from suburban regions back toward the urban core from the 1950s onward was induced by a 'rent-gap': a difference between the profit an urban piece of land presently yields and the profit it could *potentially* achieve after its physical rehabilitation (see also Shaw 2005: 151). Smith (1996) revealed how the upgrading of old, inner-urban buildings that had fallen into disrepair was in this vein motivated by speculation of developers on rising property values (Smith 1996: 67-8).

HafenCity is a development erected on previous industrially used land. Over the last third of the 20th century, such vacated land plots have emerged in many western cities as a result of de-industrialisation and the clearance of shutdown factory sites and power plants. The chance of creating new urban places is linked to the rise of a tertiary economy of service industries such as investment banking, IT-programming, advertising, tourism, and producer services that include consultancy, accounting and legal services (Zukin 1991; Ley 1996; Hamnett 2003; Sassen 2001; Helbrecht et al. 2012). In the post-war decades, the expansion of this specialised service sector and a subsequent demand for office space reinvigorated de-industrialising and neglected inner cities with the development of 'central business districts' (Zukin 1991). Such concentrations of retail, financial and higher service activity acted magnetically on investment capital that was consequently re-channelled also into rundown inner districts hitherto uninteresting for investors (Rose 1984: 52-3). The orientation of capital to growth and accumulation entailed that its

gravitation spurred its further territorial expansion into neighbouring districts (Molotch 1974; Smith 1996). The dilapidated, old *residential* stock by which these areas were defined was bound to become similarly revalorised (Smith 1996: 87). Marcuse (1985: 201) noted on 1970s central-city remaking,

The expansion of business and commercial uses downtown requires changes in land use downtown and in its immediate environs. Residential areas must give way to business, and in what residential areas remain or are built, higher-income households are wanted and lower-income households are not.

What is revealed is that the restructuring of downtown areas is not confined to the replacement of existing uses with such that are in line with market profitability. It also entails the replacement of existing residential groups with ones of higher socio-economic status. This process, in which an incumbent working class and financially restricted population is gradually evicted from an area it can no longer afford has been extensively portrayed (Glass 1964; Zukin 1982; Marcuse 1985; Smith and Williams 1986; Smith 1996; Atkinson 2000; Freeman and Braconi 2002; Newman and Wyly 2006; Hackworth and Smith 2001; Slater 2006; Lees 2014). Over time, capital reinvestment in the inner-city comes at the price of its gentrification. Housing units are rehabilitated by landlords and professional property developers to increase the attainable rent or to directly convert them into saleable owner-occupied flats.

HafenCity is a case where the conversion of central city land has not only been initiated by the municipal government but also remains controlled and moderated by the local state. From the beginning, the state was always in some way involved in processes of inner-urban redevelopment. While it originally acted as a subsidiser for neighbourhood rehabilitation when property developers were still hesitant to invest in an unknown market (Hackworth 2001: 466), gentrification eventually became '*de facto* public policy' (Smith 1996: 172). As authors like Rose (2009: 414), Hall and Ogden (2003) and Bounds (2006) have expounded, in an age of fiercer inter-urban competition, local governments became drivers for recasting inner cities into environments that will re-attract middle class affluence.



Attention of city administrations to the inner city not just as a location for business but also residential use was nurtured by the recognition of the strains put on the city with continued urban flight (Haase et al. 2010: 445; Rose 2010: 414). Through policies of so-called *reurbanisation*, municipalities seek to repopulate core cities in reaction to ongoing suburbanisation, which, despite gentrification, remains the numerically dominant and preferred housing model of the middle class (Butler 2007; Buzar et al., 2007; 652; Haase ibid 444). In cities like London and Newcastle, reurbanisation has been specifically directed at inner neighbourhoods suffering from a variety of symptoms, such as poverty, social fragmentation, crime, health problems, and environmental dilapidation (Davidson and Lees 2005: 1172, Cameron 2003: 2368f). A solution has been seen in 'social mixing' policies - the social diversification of disadvantaged areas by adding new housing that will attract more affluent middleclass households (Rose 2004; Lees 2008). Such incoming middle class residents, it is suggested, will help improve a neighbourhood situation through voluntary engagement in local institutions, or by forging supportive ties (Putnam 1999) with locals that help these get by in everyday life (Rose 2004: 283-4; Lees 2008: 2451). Critical geographers have objected that such neighbourhood policies of social mixing have not furthered cross-class interaction among residents, nor the formation of supportive networks. Quite contrarily, they have in some cases led to a tense relationship of conflict avoidance among social groups (Butler and Robson 2001: 77-8), to the division of neighbourhood infrastructure along class lines and to social polarisation (Dansereau et al. 2002; Davidson and Lees 2005; Lees 2008; Lees and Slater 2008; Lees and Ley 2008; Cameron 2003: 2373).

In this vein, some authors have termed municipal promotion of gentrification under the guise of social mixing as 'state-led gentrification' (Davidson and Lees 2005; van Criekingen 2009). Agendas to repopulate inner-cities would evidently represent nothing more than urban administrations' unacknowledged goal of increasing the proportion of materially secured consumers to urban districts at the cost of those dependant on public welfare. National and local government officials alike argue that middle class residents would be able to help those trapped in areas of concentrated poverty and neglect (Lees 2008: 2452). I concur that a crucial weakness in the concept of social mixing underlying policies of 'reurbanisation' is the remedial

effect attributed to mere residential coexistence: it misses to spell out why spatial proximity on its own would animate people to interact or relate to each other in any meaningful way. The attraction of affluent residential groups to an urban area occurs in a yet more targeted way when building stock is not already in place but can be created 'from scratch.' This shifts the attention to newly built residential developments figuring prominent in the downtowns of European metropolises since the 1990s.

## **2.2 Middle class re-attraction to the post-industrial downtown: the case of 'new-build gentrification'**

It is the logical consequence of a prolonged phase of economic restructuring that continues to release former industrially occupied land for new uses (Helbrecht and Dirksmeier 2012). In this regard, urban growth is no longer inextricably linked to green field expansion and environmental depletion (Bromley 2007: 139) but increasingly occurs also through 'internal differentiation' (Smith 1996, Helbrecht 2012). Designated as a new city centre erected on dismantled sections of Hamburg's oldest harbour sections, HafenCity is a case in point. A debate has been led among geographers whether new residential developments erected on inner-urban brown fields count as gentrification. Lambert and Boddy (2002) suggested (and in a more recent corroboration, Boddy 2005) that the new privately-developed housing complexes arising in British inner-cities since the end of the last millennium cannot be rated as gentrification, as, 1) they do not involve rehabilitation of existing housing stock, and 2) do not lead to displacement as they are built on non-residential land. However, critical authors such as Davidson and Lees (2009: 584-5) have refuted this standpoint for clinging too rigidly to the concept of gentrification as it was coined by Ruth Glass (1964). In light of the waves of inner-city refurbishment over the last four decades, from which not many Western European metropolises have been spared, 'rehabilitation' indeed has been superseded as the dominant redevelopment form. I argue in line with Davidson and Lees that the class change inherent in redevelopment however has not disappeared.

Davidson and Lees (2005, 2009) introduced the term 'new-build gentrification' in view of various socio-spatial changes associated with new urban residential developments. Such developments may be built on brownfield or previously undeveloped land, or, as almost happened in New Castle's urban policy programme 'Going for Growth', through bulldozing lower-income housing for its replacement with up-market residencies (Cameron 2003). As HafenCity itself is emerging on vacated industrial land, the further discussion will concentrate on the former variant of new-build gentrification. Davidson and Lees's primary objection is directed against a too narrowed, quantitative understanding of displacement confining itself to the event of physical eviction of residents from their homes. In reference to Peter Marcuse's (1985) broadened concept of displacement they argue for the need to also include aspects that more indirectly threaten the integrity of a locally rooted population. They pledge for acknowledging a displacement dynamics at work when affluent incomers encroach on the living situation familiar to incumbent residents (Davidson and Lees *ibid* 2005: 1170). This broadens the scope of *displacement*, which includes also the phenomenological aspect of emotional hardship experienced due to neighbourhood change. 'Displacement pressure' is the unease felt in face of loosing familiar ties to one's *home*, as not just neighbours but also commercial and public infrastructure relied on are disappearing (Carroll and Connell 2000; Curran 2004 as cited by Davidson and Lees 2005: 1168). With a more affluent clientele taking over an area, small retailers and pubs serving as meeting places for locals may be forced to shut down due to rent increase. They are usually replaced by higher profile restaurants (Hamnett and Whitelegg 2007: 122). Butler and Robson (2001) have in this context illustrated how aspirational newcomers to an area seized control over community services such as primary schools and their teaching practices. In reference to Marcuse (1985: 204-5), Davidson and Lees also raise the issue of 'exclusionary displacement': low-income people can no longer access an area as the spread of new expensive developments within it raises the overall rent level and constricts the number of affordable units (Davidson and Less *ibid* 1170).

Boddy (2007: 100) has pointed to the difficulty of claiming an association between relatively new developments and property prices in adjacent areas: 'in order

to demonstrate the secondary or indirect effects of new-build residential development, it would be necessary to show that price inflation, and the rate of gentrification and of displacement, in [these] adjoining neighbourhoods had accelerated as a result.' Yet, while rejecting the notion of new-build 'gentrification', even he concedes that expensive developments may lead to 'indirect displacement': Due to a new-build area's enhanced image, adjacent areas may also become more attractive for living and consequently experience price shadowing (ibid 99; see also Slater 2009: 294). It is this aspect of new-build developments where Boddy concurs<sup>1</sup> with Davidson and Lees (2005: 1184), who graphically describe them as 'beachheads from which the tentacles of gentrification can reach outward into the adjacent communities.'

As Davidson and Lees (2009: 587-88) further pointed out, several scholars have used the class-neutral term of *reurbanisation* for describing new-build developments, in line with urban policies seeking to repopulate inner-cities in the way portrayed above (Butler 2007; Buzar et al. 2007: 64-5; Haase 2010). I agree that this stance is problematic in uncritically aligning itself to pro-social mixing policies, which, although good in their intents, have not led to social diversity but to various forms of exclusion (Lees 2003: 62). While gentrification is not necessarily implied in the policy objective of restabilising inner cities after periods of outmigration, the term 'reurbanisation' overlooks the socially divisional *outcomes* that such policies tend to generate. In their standpoints, scholars accordingly disagree which facets of brown field and new-build development are to be given priority for understanding urban repopulation policies.

Foreshadowing the analysis of my own case, I posit that redevelopment policies inevitably unite socially inclusive aspirations and less appreciable results in a way that reflects the tensions between public and private interests. As I will examine in detail, HafenCity's development trajectory oscillates between (partially successful) policies for creating a socially diverse urban neighbourhood and fiscal austerity that impede their unfolding. Residential development is inextricably tied to municipalities' interest in maintaining or re-attracting a residential clientele that contributes to a city's wealth as consumers and tax-payers. As Rérat, Söderström and

---

<sup>1</sup> and also in an earlier paper co-authored with Lambert (Lambert and Boddy: 2002: 18).

Piguet (2010: 340) put it, urban policies reflect the 'tensions between a corporate vision of housing (where it is seen as a tool of economic development and fiscal stability) and a redistributive one (where it is seen as a tool of socio-economic redistribution with, for example, the inclusion of affordable housing in large development sites)'. Within this tension, a further dilemma arises for municipalities. For fulfilling their task of promoting social welfare, they need to provide services and opportunities from revenues they themselves cannot generate but only attain indirectly through market-derived income such as property taxes (Fainstein 2001: 40-1). This difficulty has grown once more in an era in which capital, labour and production are increasingly footloose, while a city's wealth further depends on keeping these resources in place. Proactive marketing of urban land parcels to developers and real-estate agents thus reflects the entrepreneurialism urban administrations have embarked on since the 1980s, in light of deregulation, capital flight and cutbacks on national revenues allocated to cities (Harvey 1989).

The mega-project HafenCity appears like an exception to this trend. The city's ownership of expansive central city land enables it to wield power over urban development in the style of a large property consortium. A benevolent factor strengthening the City's position is the ever-increasing demand of globally expanding companies for scarce central locations. This makes the city centre into a valuable economic asset (Helbrecht 2012). As the owner of such land, Hamburg's administration is able to 'artificially' restrict land availability by offering it only in small parcels to competing private developers ready to pay a high price (Dziomba 2012). Through this strategy, the city is able to generate high revenues from parcel sales prices that decouple HafenCity's development from the dependence on public taxes. At the same time, the involvement of various authorities in the process reveals how municipalities are no homogenous body but split in their interests within. Key decision makers subscribing to goals of social equity in HafenCity's housing policy are counteracted by other administrative levels recurring to 'market rationality'. In particular, state agents can be seen to have aligned to private capital interests in their prioritisation of the exchange value of land over its use value. Municipal rating committees monitoring over Hamburg's land-values pressurise planners not to sell land 'under-price', in the interest of the city at large.

Most scholars agree that the new-build developments studied so far, all of which are situated in privileged locations near the city centre, count as gentrification. The main reason is that in all cases a rooted working class population experienced some form of displacement pressure, or that a relationship of tension arose after its juxtaposition to a middle class clientele (Davidson and Lees 2005; Lees et al 2008; Slater 2006; Davidson and Lees 2010; van Crieckingen 2010; Rérat et al. 2010). The municipal planners in charge for HafenCity have explicitly refuted the development's association with gentrification (HCH a). The reference made to Ruth Glass (1964) in the argumentation on their official website reveals a confined understanding of displacement as the moment of physical eviction. HafenCity's rent prices range clearly above the city's average and its development was originally promoted solely by private developers. Over time, policy measures have been adopted to open up the accessibility of the development scheme to a socially more diversified population. In this vein, and also considering that there is further scope in the construction process before its envisioned completion in 2025, a tentative evaluation can be made: while HafenCity shows symptoms of new-build gentrification, a final qualification is still pending.

Considered that inner-city new-build development is a comparatively young phenomenon, a lack of clarity on its long-term socio-spatial implications suggests it should perhaps not be equated with gentrification *per se*. The crux is that the study of the *effects* of new-build gentrification in Europe - regarding displacement and community disruption - does not expand much beyond a handful of metropolises. The large-scale luxury development along London's riverside is very specific to Europe's finance capital. In London's City, the concentration of some of the largest and most competitive global enterprises nourishes an accumulation of highly salaried business people to a degree uncommon to smaller cities of merely regional significance. Consequently, the massive influx of higher professionals into wards traditionally shaped by a manual labour force creates a particularly polarised condition. Scholarship on the social structural implications of other downtown new-build areas in Europe is scarce. This may also be owed to the situation that many of these projects are still under way, or have not been occupied long enough for enabling a deepened assessment of their impacts on surrounding areas.

In Hamburg, the setting of my own case study, the proportion of those occupied in the advanced service sector is considerably lower than in a global city like London. This, as I will discuss in detail, also expresses itself in the social demography of HafenCity. Hamburg has no global city status like London, but is a national centre and Northern European commercial hub with historically strong ties to Baltic sea trade (Michalski 2010). Employment in its tertiary sector is nurtured by North-Western European trade and feeder services, why its work force is not as highly-specialised and internationalised as London's. The high-end residential market is in this regard also less ideal typically geared to highly-mobile professionals (Butler 2002) or 'global' gentrifiers (Rofe 2003). As I will illustrate, there are nonetheless overlaps in the socio-cultural repertoire of some of HafenCity's residential groups and those found in new-build developments of other post-industrial cities.

New-build developments display that gentrification meanwhile incorporates elites with earnings at the upper-income end. While the remaking of the industrial inner-city into a node for business and commerce went rather smoothly, its reinvigoration as a residential setting however occurred less straightforwardly. Originally revalorised as a residential setting only by a small intellectual avant-garde, it took roughly a generation for the inner city to find acceptance among the bourgeoisie at large. Still shunned as a socially disorganised or at least ambiguous sphere in the 1960s, the inner city has meanwhile become a habitat coveted by middle and even upper-class households (Lees 2003; Butler and Lees 2006; Dirksmeier 2010). HafenCity's residential sections, strictly composed of blocks of flats, are dominated by middle class households and include a wealthy upper-class fraction. The materially secured status of this cohort would easily enable its members to rent or buy more spacious homes with a garden in less busy suburban areas. This option of middle class households against the suburbs and *for* the city is a major component of cultural change over the last decades and calls for inspection.

### 2.3 Re-making the inner-city as a residential site

As a phenomenon, gentrification was not corporately but socially initialised. From the early 1960s, preservation of dilapidated building stock was performed through the 'sweat equity' (Lees 2003) of individuals. Originally, a small cohort of liberally oriented 'pioneers', typically graduates from the humanities and social sciences, settled into the old quarters bordering the central business district, where buildings were run down but appealing due to their historical architecture. These households were well-educated but economically restricted. As sales prices were reasonably low at the time, they could afford to buy and invest in the repainting and repair of facades and the rearrangement of interior floor spaces to individual needs (Jager 1986; Caulfield 1989; Butler and Robson 2003). Remaking place through renovation and celebration of aesthetics were means for the new middle class to distinguish itself through 'culture' from the traditional suburban middle class defined by economic wealth - read - material comfort and shallow consumerism.

As David Ley (1996) illustrated, prerequisite to the formation of such a new middle class were broader societal reconfigurations: reform and expansion of universities in urban areas, a massive growth in government and public sector employment, and the 1960s emancipatory social movements. Taken together, these moments helped to shape a middle class that distinguished itself from the older, established middle class through a stronger valorisation of academic learning and the associated gains of autonomy in thought and judgment (Lash and Urry 1987; Savage and Butler 1995). This was a professionally skilled middle class, a new 'intelligentsia' (Gouldner 1979) that put more emphasis on *education* than the established middle classes, for whom material wealth was still at the forefront of their self-conception. Increased female participation in the expanding service sector has also encouraged alternative living arrangements to the male-breadwinner model, the 'breakdown of the patriarchal household' as Markusen (1981: 32) noted. While occupation in the city has enabled women to escape the constrictive sphere of the suburban housewife, spatial proximity between the home, work place and recreational amenities has made downtown living particularly convenient for dual-earner couples (Markusen 1981; Rose 1984; Mills 1989; Smith 1996: 98-101; Karsten 2003; Haase et al. 2009: 445).



Several scholars expounded how the rise of the arts as an industry in the 1960s was crucial as a force in changing the cultural perception of the inner city (Zukin 1982; Podmore 1989; Ley 1994; 1996). Ley (1996) portrayed for Canada's largest metropolises, that appreciation for living in historic inner city ambiances was preeminent among those professionals who most closely associated with an *artists'* lifestyle. With their advocacy of the urban as a sphere for self-expression and liberation, artists had been harbingers for many ensuing urban movements that came out of the university faculties of the 1960s and whose proponents shared ideals of the 'emancipatory city' (Caulfield 1989). In terms of study area, those associating the city with tolerance and the potential for personal unfolding were most frequently enrolled in the arts, humanities and social sciences. These graduates from the humanistic fields, who became occupied as professionals in the expanding welfare sector but also in the cultural industries such as design and photography, also became the dominant cohort among gentrifiers. In her path breaking portray of investment cycles within Lower Manhattan, Sharon Zukin (1982) portrayed how urban authorities instrumentalised the arts market for turning a stagnant manufacturing area into a hotspot for real-estate speculation. The local state took advantage of the pluralisation of the arts in the post-war decades, where their expansion from a high-brow discipline to a popular culture made them accessible to wider social circles. Urban authorities used their planning capacity to promote the artist's mode of existence as a new lifestyle eventually coveted by the bourgeoisie. This was a process, in which first manufacturing workers and later an artists' scenery was displaced from New York's loft district SoHo.

With the corporate leadership over gentrification, its cultural connotations have also changed (Zukin 1987; Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996: 201-5; Hackworth 2002: 820; Hackworth and Smith 2001). As David Ley (1996) traced back, housing renovation had been the domain of owner occupants for enhancing the quality of their own buildings rather than for profitability. As inner-city residency was being opened to a much broader middle class clientele than the original pioneers, renovation was no longer an oddity of a niche consumer group. It turned into a professionalised practice fuelled by property developers (Gale 1979; Clay 1979: 57-59). This commodification ensured that gentrification did not come to a halt with the

eviction of an original working class population; it continued in successive cycles of investment and reinvestment in the inner-city to create spaces for 'progressively more affluent users' (Hackworth 2002: 815). From the late 1970s onwards, large-scale, corporate renovation had begun to make the inner city appear safe enough as a residential place for professionals in more market-aligned occupations (Berry 1985; Zukin 1987; Hackworth and Smith 2001). Public and cultural sector professionals were now followed by engineers, doctors and lawyers, later joined by private sector managers, and finally included even the highest salary brackets represented by senior executives and finance experts (Ley 1996: 191-2). That gentrification has reached the upper-income brackets of society is also reflected in HafenCity's residential makeup: it incorporates a smaller fraction of high-earning entrepreneurs and executives in lead management positions, an industrial elite whom Lees (2003: 2487ff) had typified as 'financifiers'.

Living in the city evidently today is a model acceptable for larger parts of society that straddle the wide range of the middle and upper-classes. A deeper understanding of identification with the inner city has been offered by authors like Ley (1996), Bridge (2001, 2006), Butler (2007) and Butler and Robson (2001, 2003), who draw on the concept of *habitus* derived from French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984). The *habitus* is a disposition to perceive and evaluate the world in ways according to the class setting in which an individual is shaped and socialised during adolescence. Through familial upbringing and school education, individuals acquire propensities for particular cultural goods, practices and forms of consumption as opposed to others.

Podmore (1989) revealed the complicity of the media in the creation of a residential *habitus*. Building on Zukin's (1982) study of the Soho lofts, she examined the popularisation of the loft as a coveted housing model in Montreal. By rhetorically framing their descriptions of living interiors, lifestyle journals are mediators in the creation of a conscience for their readership - a well-educated class with a proclivity for cultural goods and styles. The loft acquires meaning as an environment of social distinction for middle class fractions from groups less culturally endowed. The media-led loft narrative of the print press draws its authority not only from endowing construction features with aesthetic value. Particular liberties are attributed to the

loft-living experience, illustrated in statements such as 'rooms that "offer a retreat overlooking the street"' (ibid 289). Such framing of the loft as an enriched living experience substantiates the loft dweller's habitus as one that also entails the ability to culturally *legitimise* the choice of interior design elements against others that are more trivial and mass-produced.

Rofe (2003: 2522) established a connection between capital and urban areas that have become en vogue, 'by mobilising lifestyle as a marketing ploy, real estate agents promote the inner city itself as a consumable product'. In the forefront of the completion of residential developments, marketing and sales literature is circulated to new urban professionals sought as a residential target group, in form of journals, websites, and advertising brochures (Davidson 2007: 497). The imagery built around HafenCity, as it comes into being, rests on similar media and advertising narratives and their circulation. While in the case of the London Docklands development, place-marketing was something left to the creativity of real-estate agents, in HafenCity the release of marketing material was part and parcel of the municipal developer's planning strategy. Until today, several media formats authored by the HafenCity development board, that include TV documentations, update regularly on the scheme's state of progress in the fashion of journalistic reportage (Bruns-Berentelg et al. 2012: 81). Through the lens of Zukin and Podmore, the habitus of the urbane middle class resident was analysed in relation to perceptions of interior architecture, to the privatised space. What is not grasped is an individual's relation to the surrounding neighbourhood and its social composite. A broader view onto residential setting is key for understanding middle class agency in the remaking of place.

## **2.4 The metropolitan habitus**

Gentrifiers typically evince an emotional attachment to urban areas that Mike Savage (2010) has termed 'elective belonging'. It is a way for middle class people to claim 'rights over place through their capacity to move to, and put down roots in, a specific place which [is] not just functionally important to them but which also

matter[s] symbolically' (ibid 15). It is the identification with a place of residence not for having been born or raised in it, but because it is the result of a well-reflected choice. Middle class members contrive narratives as to why they feel personally attached to their place of residence. Through moral or aesthetic reasoning they create an almost intimate relationship to place and in this way justify how natural it is to claim vested rights over it (ibid).

In their study of London, Butler and Robson (2003) discuss how such elective relationships to an urban neighbourhood arise. In their comprehensive study of six inner London neighbourhoods, they investigated what part housing plays in the reproduction of middle class fractions at the neighbourhood level. Next to occupation, education and consumption, housing forms a key area through which members of the urbane middle classes define their self-worth, social recognition, and seek status validation. Living in the relatively impoverished wards engulfing the financial district - the 'City' - forms a strategy for middle class professionals to cope with the status anxieties experienced in their well-paid but discontinuous employment situations. This 'remaining' in the city after university time - rather than returning to the suburbs - is at the core of the metropolitan habitus common to gentrifiers in inner London. London is a 24-hour metropolis concentrating some of the world's leading and most rapidly expanding enterprises. Success in qualified service jobs demands constant flexibility and re-adaptation to new assignments and shifting working conditions. In light of such occupational insecurity, former middle class virtues such as the studious investment into educational skills appear obsolete. The disenchantment of traditional career trajectories creates a particular challenge in the upbringing of children and in deciding how to prepare them for their future. Principles appearing sacrosanct, such as diligence and deferred gratification have become brittle, leading to a loss of order felt by the new middle classes in everyday life (ibid 125, 187). Buying a Victorian downtown flat surrounded with a nostalgic aura creates a strongly elective link to place.

Butler and Robson (2003) suggest that the confidence gained with property ownership helps re-establish some of the status security felt during childhood in the protected sphere of the suburban home. The metropolitan habitus accordingly reveals a conflicting relationship to place of residence. Urban professionals are torn apart

between the desire for a stimulating urban environment and a longing for the comfort zone of the suburbs (ibid: 8). In this manner it psychologically compensates for the biographical uncertainty felt. As professionals with higher education, middle class occupants have come to appreciate the inner city while living in it during university time. Many have maintained the friendships made at this time, with people who have likewise remained living in the city and with whom they now maintain social networks (ibid 129-30).

I argue that the metropolitan habitus is closely linked to the globally oriented economy found in cities like London, and not easily transferable to cities of regional significance like Hamburg. London's gentrifying professionals are a class of their own. Their lifestyle arrangements are oriented much to the reconciliation of the cultural and consumption opportunities and the impositions of a global city (ibid 68, 133, 187). There are certain overlaps regarding the status anxiety among middle class families in both cities. Like in London's inner wards, some parents in HafenCity similarly conceded tradeoffs an inner-city environment bore as a place for raising children. As will be shown their caveats were however commonly shared among urban households with children. They did not translate into a wider *strategy* for readapting the home environment to middle class ideology as in the case of London.

Butler and Robson (ibid: 29-30) draw on Bourdieu's (1986) conception of *capital* to flesh out the entirety of resources middle class members mobilise for their successful reproduction as a class: economic capital (income and financial assets), cultural capital (academic certifications and educationally derived competencies) and social capital, as benefits that are only indirectly tangible through the membership in networks (see also Bourdieu 1984). There are fine but distinct differences in the extent to which middle class inhabitants of the six London districts activate their capital for benefits obtained at the neighbourhood level. This variation entails that each district was marked by its own 'mini-habitus' - corresponding with the nuanced differences in lifestyle patterns between individual middle class fractions. In order to account for these differences the authors borrowed a typology of the new middle classes introduced by Savage, Barlow, Dickens et al. (1992). This tripartite scheme distinguishes lifestyles of the new 'managerial-professional' class into 'undistinctive' (managers in private enterprises with high amounts of economic, but only moderate

levels of cultural capital), 'ascetic' (public and welfare-sector professionals high in cultural but relatively limited in economic capital), and 'post-modern' (professionals in the 'creative' or cultural industries, with respectable amounts of economic capital).

By and large, urban professionals are not financially endowed in a way that would enable them to satisfy prevalent interests (schooling of their children, sophisticated cultural activity, far-flung holidays etc.) through the market (Butler and Robson *ibid*: 72-3). As Butler and Robson expand, cultural is the crucial of the capital sorts for the educated middle classes, as it forms a link between (insufficient) economic capital and the deployment of social capital. Common aspirations to create a neighbourhood that is safe, culturally stimulating and offers an infrastructure favourable for child raising are the basis for the formation of social capital by means of voluntary neighbourhood groups. These groups are instances through which cultural capital such as rhetorical competence and organisational skills are effectively mobilised into campaigns, 'to address middle-class concerns about local infrastructure, environment and services' (*ibid* 31).

Relating to my own case study I agree with the authors about the significance of cultural capital for middle class members due to its convertibility for collective, but also self-seeking interests. In HafenCity, residents deployed skills derived from their fields of profession for cultural and recreational activities as well as for organised political campaigning. Besides offering various ways of personal fulfilment these efforts were largely oriented to fill a 'void' of institutional life in a neighbourhood that had only begun to materialise.

Benson and Jackson (2012) illustrated a case of gentrifiers clashing with other incumbent groups due to their overindulgence in the shared locality. Peckham, London, is an old working class suburb that has become colonised by a higher-middle class clientele. On arrival, this urban area bore a reputation with a rough edge. Since the historically derived stereotypes proved persistent, an earliest form of place (re)making by incomers was the refutation of public images about an allegedly unsafe area (*ibid* 798-99). Opposed to middle class incomers' constructed images of a spatial ideal, the incumbent immigrant population had a pragmatic relationship to the area. It strongly relied on a retail infrastructure serving everyday needs (*ibid*: 798-9).

According to their various types of attachments to Peckham, the different local groups had contending understandings of the area's value. Those relying on its small-scale service landscape maintained an instrumental relationship to the area, while the middle classes held up more ideational values derived from narratives about the place's past. Present Peckham, with its plurality of juxtaposed wealth and poverty, was largely downplayed by gentrifiers. Instead a consecrated pre-industrial past was being invoked by the middle class minority to forecast how the area was to be in the *future* (ibid: 800). The praise of Peckham's historical richness also informed subsequent campaigns for protecting the area against its predominant, stigmatising narratives (ibid: 794). In middle class imaginings of a neighbourhood, Peckham was discursively constructed as the romanticised 'village', signified in beautified, human-scale architecture, trees and low levels of traffic (ibid: 801-4; see also Bacqué et al. 2015: 199). Relationships of the middle class fractions to their socially mixed area were ambivalent and revealed how they could not shake off some of the stereotypes against which they themselves were struggling. There was a general discrepancy between an embracement of the 'exoticism' of socio-cultural diversity and anxiety about other ethnic groups encountered in the area (Benson and Jackson 2014: 1201-2). Echoing with the portrayals of gentrified Inner London (Butler and Robson 2003), identifications with the socially mixed makeup of the neighbourhood were very much a 'community in the mind'. Representations of place corresponded with the ideal of its continuity and stability as reflected in its aesthetics and built environment.

Perspectives of other multi-ethnic fractions, who economically depended on a much broader range of locally available businesses, were blanked out. Middle class residents were urged to protect the status quo, in fear of Peckham losing its idyllic scenery to suburban development (ibid 805). Campaigns to protect local greenery, impede traffic plans, and preserve Victorian housing were thus motivated by keeping up the status-quo of the area (Benson and Jackson 2012: 806, 2014: 1205-6). Attempts to also support Asian and Caribbean retail sections on which other local ethnic groups relied were not included in them (ibid 2014: 1202). Their subjective moral superiority and skill of organisation privileged Peckham's gentrifiers to assert their claims effectively over place. In this process, other local groups tied

instrumentally to their area rather than out of emotional electivity were much reduced to a local accessory.

The relationship of middle class settlers to the socially mixed areas they have moved to is a complicated one that ultimately restrains their place-making. Many feel wary about the socio-cultural mix of their area, and as Butler and Robson (*ibid* 165) point out, there is 'little evidence of the middle class deploying its resources for the benefits of the wider community'. Local engagement focuses on the needs of the private households, and selective association with locals of a similar background, with 'people like us' (*ibid* 129). Less than one in five gentrifiers in Inner London are active in neighbourhood associations, which include parent-teacher associations and initiatives for taking care of local parks. In some areas like Brixton, the close juxtaposition of white middle class wealth and ethnic minorities is managed through a tense relationship of 'social tectonics', where different groups slide past each other without interacting beyond a necessary minimum (*ibid* 92). This flight from obligations of social capital appears to be particularly pronounced in London's Docklands, a residential area that deviates starkly from the remaining gentrified city due to its new-build character.

## **2.5 The flight from social obligations in new-build developments**

Several studies have suggested a profound cleavage existing between the sense of place between classic and new-build gentrifiers (Butler and Robson 2003; Butler 2007; Davidson 2007; Davidson and Lees 2005: 1183; 2009). As a residential area created in whole by corporate developers, the Docklands do not resemble gentrification by 'collective action' (a term going back to Warde 1991). High rent levels are not the aggregate effect of renovation of individual flats by their owner occupants. The Docklands are an example of capital concentration for deliberately creating an up-scale housing segment. Here, a class of mainly private sector professionals and managers buy into a marketed idea of inner-city living. A majority of residents appear to explicitly turn their back on the surrounding city and openly admit their disinterest in the availability of local facilities (Butler 2007: 774).



Comprised of many singles and empty nester households, this cohort has transplanted a typically suburban lifestyle to the city, and is in this vein associated with a habitus that is *non*-metropolitan (Butler 2007: 771). This disassociation from the city is reinforced by the situation that a majority do live in the suburbs, and the local flat serves only as a pied a terre for the job maintained in the City (Butler and Robson 2003: 183; Butler 2007: 768). The surrounding inner-city is generally shunned and visited in a sporadic, purpose-bound manner for occasions of consumption and entertainment. These gentrifiers have a chiefly functional relationship to the city rather than an aesthetic one as in the case of classic gentrifiers, 'who, for the most part, had moved within the area because they liked the area and were attracted to a particular house...' (ibid 773). As Butler and Robson put it nicely (2003: 104), 'by buying into an area with a marketed place identity people are generally indicating their willingness to forgo their involvement in place-making.'

While the majority living in HafenCity was not 'actively' engaged in its neighbourhood, it was equally not shunning it as a social environment. Residents' sense of the neighbourhood as a community will be revealed to have been clearly more pronounced. Practically all residents I interviewed had some local acquaintance among their neighbours. Admittedly, the common geographic frame of reference at the time comprised a very manageable area expanding not much less beyond the pier on which the vast majority lived. Distinguishing one's neighbours from other faces on this street was not all too difficult as long as the local population was considerably small. On the other hand, familiarity among residents was to some degree aided through corporate mediation. The first restaurants opening on the street quickly established into popular venues for get-togethers a few extroverted residents had initiated. Surely, the planners' incorporation of cafes and restaurants into the district hint to a corporate mediation of local life styles. As I will expand, it would however stretch matters too far to suggest that restaurants by themselves, although acting as sites for local interactions, were partaking in the *creation* of residents' habitus. As a form of *consumption*-oriented attachment to place, restaurant visits formed only one small element of the many ways in which residents affiliated and formed voluntary neighbourhood organisations.

Davidson (2007) suggested that new downtown residential developments are a blueprint of a gentrified lifestyle that has become global. In his analysis of gentrification as a corporately produced phenomenon he draws on Lefebvre's socio-spatial model that distinguishes space into the three levels of the 'global', the 'urban' and the 'private'. The urban constitutes the realm between the global as an abstract, politico-economic authority and the private - the personalised space of the individual. It is the urban level at which every-day struggles over collective interests and for personal autonomy are fought out (ibid: 492). In the capitalist city, global authority has subdued 'habiting' as an unencumbered and authentic mode of human place-making by the more restricted idea of the 'habitat.' This is the economised, rationalised, and controlled space that confines the act of dwelling into an order of functions such as eating and sleeping (ibid). The submission of the urban sphere to the dominant mode of production has consequences for autonomy of expression among modern city dwellers. Originally, gentrification was the project of a liberally-minded citizenry, and had figured as a counterforce to capitalist hegemony. Committed to the ideal of the socially diverse city, it was the collective creation of an emancipatory urban space that fostered self-expression, tolerance and the communal idea of 'neighbourhood' (Caulfield 1989). This agency-led form of gentrification has increasingly been subdued by a commodified version. New-build gentrification is then a consolidation of mobile capital into fixed urban space as a predictable form for its accretion.

In Davidson's account it shines through that the historical emergence of a 'global habitus', as a shared set of dispositions that agents would have developed as a group is not tenable (Davidson 2007: 491). The 'global' is not expressed in shared propensities to practices, values and tastes, but is reduced to a habitat that has been corporately created. Global capital aims to identify and reinforce a prototype residential habitat, whose minimum requirement is that it appeals to a transnational elite of professionals (ibid 494-5). This, to be clear, is a habitat offered as a readymade product, its lure being that it disoblges its occupants from maintenance obligations as far as possible. It is chiefly directed at a globally mobile elite that seeks rewards from a stressful new economy job in a dwelling experience of luxury

and comfort. The historical and cultural peculiarities of a surrounding neighbourhood are rendered largely irrelevant.

While in their study of the Docklands, Butler (2007) and Butler and Robson (2003) do not thoroughly discuss residents' connections to a global market culture, their portrayal clearly chimes with Davidson's suggestion of a corporately produced habitus found in London's riverside developments. Executives working in London's higher services maintain their (work-related) networks over varying destinations largely connected by digital communication and frequent air-travel. Such geographic 'flows' (Davidson *ibid*: 501) are what gets in the way of professionals putting down roots in any single place they are unlikely to stay in for long. At the same time, the domestic services included in tenancy lease package (security cameras, laundry, cleaning, repair services etc.) relieve from flat maintenance obligations while away on business trips. Corporately produced urban dwelling has meanwhile also taken hold of cities with a more regional rather than global economic significance. In Berlin's districts Friedrichswerder and Prenzlauer Berg, the design of new townhouse projects surpasses even the Docklands development in terms of its suburban air of privacy (Holms 2010). A main attraction of the terraced houses is that they come with fenced gardens, pre-planted with low maintenance greenery that accommodates the tight time schedules of career-oriented professionals. This preference of a calm resort in the pulsating city is also stressed in pertinent marketing brochures and websites.

As a new residential setting, HafenCity is equally corporately produced. It is advanced by a state-owned development corporation running an intense marketing machinery resembling the place-making strategies of (global) property developers. I argue that HafenCity is however informed by more ambitious visions that transcend notions of a reduced, commodified version of downtown living. As the aspirations surrounding its construction process reveal, there is much more at stake than selling a housing segment to a financial elite, whether local or global in character. HafenCity is tied to expectations of reinventing Hamburg at its centre, entailing that its development is accompanied by public pressure and critical media coverage. My analysis of its planning agenda will display that a project of such scale and

significance cannot confine itself to real-estate interests, while they do play an important role.

In the previous sections, residential place-making was portrayed from the perspective of middle class occupants. A neighbourhood study provided by Blokland (2003), contrarily shifts the perspective to those who ultimately formed the social character of these neighbourhoods before they became - or were pending to become - gentrified. It is instructive in showing how residents' relationships emerge on the basis of a shared and limited radius of action. Despite that these relationships are illustrated through the case of a working class community, the categories Blokland introduces are nonetheless applicable to other social micro-contexts, including HafenCity.

## **2.6 Residential attachments at the micro-scale**

In her sociological portrayal of Hillesluis, a working class district in Rotterdam, Blokland expounds how residents' place-making is mediated by intense face-to-face interaction and visibility of neighbours for one another. A high degree of familiarity among residents was fostered both by widespread use of local facilities, and a culture of reciprocal services paid to one another. While Blokland does not use the term place-making, she analogously discusses personal *ties* residents maintain to their immediate environment. These ties are strongest when residents associate with each other intentionally and with some regularity, particularly when being bound together by shared concerns. Blokland (ibid: 91) arranges the intensity of relations residents can have to their immediate environment on a continuum, reaching from *anonymity*, through *familiarity*, to *intimacy*. Anonymity is the most common form of relationship, where individuals provide a minimum of information required to manage interactions with those who are physically close. Greeting one's neighbour on the common stairway, or borrowing a kitchen utensil are common examples of behaviour that are purposefully restricted to the situation and do not intrude on someone's privacy. Familiarity is a stronger form of affiliation where those involved know each other well enough to be confident on what terms they wish to interact,

and how much personal information they want to share. Intimacy defines the closest form of associating, where those involved are ready to drop conventions of formality, as they feel comfortable enough in each other's company to be 'themselves.'

In the pre-welfare state era, lack of mobility and financial means meant that many tasks of household sustenance took place in the locality: there were grocers, laundries, bath houses and bars shared by many. As people made frequent use of these same facilities, they repeatedly saw the same faces and thereby became *publicly* familiar. In this course, imagined communities emerged, as residents who knew each other also began to distinguish between those similar to them and others, into 'we' and 'them'. *Private* familiarity in contrast entailed allowing each other into one's homes. It arose when residents felt committed to help each other out when it seemed appropriate. This entailed favours being paid in times of need or illness (ibid: 93-7). With the onset of modernisation, the spread of modern communication technologies such as the phone reduced the need for such contacts maintained in the vicinity. Furthermore, the expanding welfare state with its professionalisation of care loosened localised networks of aid. At the neighbourhood level, television and other media use increased, as well as mobility due to mass transit technology. In sum, these social innovations reduced neighbourhood use.

What is evident in Blokland's analysis on social cohesion of a working class community is that bonds between residents were likely to intensify in a joint situation of necessity. In a community of materially secured residents like HafenCity, residential associations were far from being motivated by the dependence on neighbours. Entertained by a socially mobile clientele, neighbouring networks were a matter of choice as opposed to a lack of alternatives. Instead, ties of familiarity were facilitated by the particular situation of newness collectively experienced. Many residents were eager to indulge in a place that had been foremost chosen for its environmental appeals rather than for a flat. In this vein, voluntary types of involvement in one's area became more fulfilling when they were pursued with like-minded individuals and could be brought onto a higher level.

## 2.7 Residential participation in redevelopment

The role of citizen participation in urban regeneration projects has gained an increasingly prominent role over the last years. New forms of cooperation between public, private and civil-society institutions have been portrayed in reaction to the difficulty for the state to govern alone in an increasingly complex, fragmented and globalised society (Atkinson 2003). Alliances and partnerships formed by municipal governments with institutional agents and lay people at the metropolitan sub-level 'supposedly reflects the need to get things done in the face of increased complexity' (Tewdwr-Jones 2009: 71). Such coalitions entail the devolution of power from municipal administration down to the level of neighbourhoods and their stakeholders. In this manner, centralised government became expanded into multi-scalar networks of *governance*. These networks can be understood as 'entities that in some way organize participation in planning and decision making and seek to speak for and act on behalf of the neighborhood as a whole' (Chaskin 1999: 58). Urban governance, as opposed to government, expands the notion of urban policy proceeding in a top-down manner to a widened structure of collaboration.

The inability of municipal authorities to effectively tackle the problems in areas of concentrated poverty and decline has encouraged new forms of inclusion of the population directly affected by this condition into policies of regeneration (Atkinson 2003: 101-2). In participative development models, residents are being considered not by just being presented with full-blown plans in public consultation, but by also being granted deliberation of such plans - in panels, juries, hearings, neighbourhood committees (North 2003; Somerville 2005) and area-based forums and committees (Coaffee and Healey 2003: 1981; Taylor 2007: 298). In the UK, citizen participation has been an element of wider collaborative networks in so called 'local-strategic partnerships' established between authorities, private enterprises, non-profit and voluntary groups (Hastings 2003; Taylor 2007). Such collaborations have been on the rise since the promulgation of an 'Urban Renaissance' by the New Labour government and respective programmes launched for ameliorating the conditions of neighbourhoods. They are ambiguous constructs in regard to their claims about residential empowerment, while at the same time requesting residents'

self-initiative rather than reliance on state support (ibid 299). In the US, private foundations rather than the state have been at the forefront of citizen activation, such as in the creation and sponsorship of ‘community building initiatives’ (Chaskin 1999; Lepofsky 2003). With their imperatives to individual pro-activeness, performance and ‘flexible citizenship’ they resonate with New Labour’s appeal to self-responsibility (Lepofsky 2003: 131).

As Kearns and Parkinson (2001) point out, there is a fixation in the scholarship on participative governance on socially deprived neighbourhoods. This situation challenges the transferability of this governance perspective to an affluent middle class setting like HafenCity. Evaluations of HafenCity and other new downtowns as textbook illustrations of urban governance are delivered by Helbrecht and Dirksmeier (2012: 13). The authors highlight how the cooperative networks between the public and private sector involved in such mega-projects suggest a transition from classic urban *planning* to urban *management*. Regarding HafenCity, the tasks of a development board were substantially expanded beyond those of land-use allocation, parcelling and sale of the municipally owned land to property developers. As opposed to the urban governance cases commonly studied, opportunities for residential participation in HafenCity were not seeking to combat social disadvantages; they expressed the planner's concept of an urban development that activates residents for the institutionalisation of their community life. Such an urbanity would thrive on self-sustained organisations created in a bottom-up manner.

## **2.8 Research Questions**

In my review of contemporary scholarship, I laid out the various institutional and social agents involved in urban place-making. None of these accounts however investigate in what ways urban development institutions and residents interact in ways that qualify urban place-making as a co-productive project. In the creation of HafenCity as a residential community, the material, symbolic and social dimensions of space were intertwined. Urban planners pushed forward the material manifestation of development scenarios and planning guidelines while the first completed sections

of HafenCity were simultaneously being occupied. As I will elaborate, this development practice did not proceed in line with fixed prescriptions. Instead, a set of formal and informal control mechanisms accommodated the building process and allowed for interim evaluations, further to modifications and rejections of originally envisaged features. Most importantly, a package of information campaigns and an ombudsman mediating between developer goals and the interests of residents were institutional measures that fostered community formation in the new neighbourhood. In this vein, my first research questions is directed toward the role of planners:

*How did HafenCity as a planning organisation create a new urban place?*

Early portrayals in Hamburg's local news, as well as some national journals, were quick in their verdicts on HafenCity as an enclave of yuppies, defensiveness, and lack of neighbourliness, in light of the up-market housing defining its first section (Blasberg et al. 2009; Gefroi 2008). During my fieldwork I found a certain social homogeneity regarding the clear predominance of middle and upper-middle class households, and a smaller fraction of high-earning executives. A population comprised chiefly of well-to-do households (including a markedly high proportion of self-employed) cannot be ignored as a force shaping a developing place, including the way it fosters or impedes a collective neighbourhood life. A vast majority of the academically or at least vocationally skilled residents suggested why HafenCity acted as a breeding ground for voluntary neighbourhood engagement. The concentration of individuals who were 'resourceful', so to speak, appeared to reinforce their receptiveness to voluntary collaboration for political, sociable and cultural purposes.

As a neighbourhood under-construction, HafenCity bore opportunities for the formation of social relationships typically not found in other urban contexts. The rapid formation of both formal and informal associations among early residents was owed in part to the dynamics a new community was subjected to at its earliest stage. At this stage, HafenCity was only beginning to take shape and heavy construction works in the immediate vicinity of people's homes were a permanent phenomenon.



The dynamics of an up-and-coming neighbourhood influenced individuals' sense of place and in this vein formed a shared topic of concern.

Beyond the physical production of place, place-making in this work signifies the various modes in which first-time residents initiated and developed social relationships in the area. On one level these were the different ways of affiliating as neighbours. They included sociability and recreational activity eased among people similarly curious in their new environment. In other cases the familiarity established among a manageable number of residents transitioned into collaboration in neighbourhood initiatives on the basis of shared interests and values (Bulmer 1986; Blokland 2003). Place-making further involved residents' formally organised efforts at co-shaping the development process of their neighbourhood. In order to co-determine a local life unfolding through retail, services, public institutions and environmental design, residents formed initiatives through which they could voice joint concerns to planners in charge. This moment is captured in my second research question:

*What place-making did incoming HafenCity residents undertake after arrival?*

HafenCity appears to be exemplary for the production of a habitus through corporate intervention (Davidson 2008) into an unfolding residential community. Planning institutions were, to varying extents, involved in the creation of a residential identity. As I will display, this practice was not limited to promotional marketing and advertising in the pre-occupancy phase but reached well into living experience after arrival. HafenCity was an exceptional case of planners' mediation of residential relationships to their place. Place-making was not a matter of planner activity on one side and residents' formation of neighbourhood attachments and networks in parallel. Rather, iteration between planners' aims and residents' expectations over issues of environmental design, service infrastructure, and participative governance, turned place-making into a symbiotic process of continuous negotiation and adaptation.

In order to accommodate the public pressure received from residents - in tandem with pressure exerted from voluntary sector institutions - the planners

supported and co-founded several forums for public consultation and participation in place-making policy. The demands raised by a loose coalition of the earliest residents and charitable actors became a crucial point of orientation for the planner. In these voluntary initiatives, most of which were mediated to some extent by employees of the HafenCity development corporation, civic input gained a momentum that made HafenCity emblematic of participative urban planning. The co-production of place by official institutions and an active core group among early residential cohorts exemplified the physically built and socially organised dimensions of a community. This co-production of place is dealt with in my third research question:

*How did residents react to planners' version of place-making and how did their place-making add to the planners'?*

As I will illustrate for HafenCity, a development with an emphasis on residential use is a special case in point of physical and social place-making. More specifically, material development on a piece of land and its residential occupation did not run in parallel but were in many ways conjoined. Residents most prominently sought to bring official policies in line with ideas about a community that thrives on the voluntarism of its members.



### **3 Methodology: a qualitative research approach**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

As a new downtown under construction, HafenCity was an exceptionally interesting case of a place in-the-making. While buildings and physical infrastructure were materialising by virtue of authorised planning, place was also made through people taking possession of an area as residents. While previous studies have equally inspected planners' policies and residential populations in such new-build developments (Boddy 2007; Bounds 2006; Butler and Robson 2003; Butler 2007; Davidson 2005; Davidson 2009; Davidson and Lees 2009; Karsten 2003), HafenCity was a rare case in point where the two dimensions overlapped. This was a peculiarity attributed to the project by its early news coverage on which I relied as a preliminary information source. From an early point of construction activity, the HafenCity development corporation released PR publications that inspired my further inquiry of the subject. What struck me on reading the material were two distinguishing features repeatedly reported: within the first five years of residential occupation, a variety of neighbourhood associations had been launched in HafenCity that suggested a high propensity for local engagement (see for instance HCN 2008a, 2008b, 2008c). A second and related observation was the developer's active orchestration of residents' associational life, most prominently through a sociologist who had been employed to aid and abet the development of voluntary initiatives (HafenCity 2007).

I discussed how the media facilitates the creation of identities of urban places and their inhabitants. Circulated images and narratives vest urban areas with particular ideas about their extraordinariness, thereby symbolically constructing them as places of social distinction. Mills (1988) studied the role of the press in advocating a residential identity in Vancouver's post-modern settlement Fairview Slopes and as I discussed earlier, Podmore (1998) illustrated the complicity of reputed architectural magazines and design books in crafting a 'loft-living habitus.' A series of forecasts were made by planning agents about HafenCity, some of which echoed the goals of creating a socially diverse community in previous new-build developments

(Cameron 2003; Davidson 2005; Davidson and Lees 2009; Rose 2004; Ley 2012: 54; van Criekingen 2009).

The regularly released newsletters, marketing brochures and online reportage on HafenCity were inextricably linked to the interests of authorities in charge of the development. While some of the reportage was held in the style of glossy marketing rhetoric, it was at the same time an invaluable chronicle documenting on the project from its beginnings. I had to be cautious not to take it at face value, but to carefully distinguish between views and 'factual news' (Cloke et al. 2004: 71) on HafenCity. Resonating with the narratives of previous 'Urban Renaissance' projects seeking inner-city repopulation (Boddy 2007; Cameron 2003; Davidson 2010; Lees 2003), these planners' publications were pervaded with claims made about spatial diversity and sustainability in HafenCity. The popular news coverage on HafenCity was complemented by academic writings published by the development corporation's CEO (Bruns-Berentelg 2010; 2012a, b). In these, he theoretically undergirded his vision for the development project. It is not self-explanatory that a development agent drew on social science and urban theory to justify his or her practices, signifying how much commitment beyond the expectable was being put into planning here. Taken together, the large bulk of the material published on HafenCity was instructive as an early representation of place stemming from planners (or respectively their PR agents). These corporate publications formed the secondary data from which I derived further questions I posed to planners.

### **3.2 Field access**

When I entered the field in Autumn of 2009, place-making via residential associations was in full swing. Residents were affiliating with each other as neighbours, were opening businesses and stores and initiated the first neighbourhood associations – all of which guided my investigations of a place-in-the-making. A particularity that recommended HafenCity as a research subject was thus the chance given to follow some of the innovations to place while, or at least shortly after they were made. Ideally, I would have liked to attend residents while they were

interacting through the various associations they had formed. Beyond routinised uses of a neighbourhood through every-day practices, engagement in such residential initiatives features as a committed way of reproducing a local environment according to ideals held about it. I discussed that collective engagement in the local has figured prominent among middle class residents when their home area is seen out of line with their own ideals about order, sociability, or aesthetics (Bacqué et al. 2015; Benson and Jackson 2012; Blokland 2008; Butler and Robson 2003). I was curious in how far HafenCity residents were similarly attempting to create a place in their image, and were motivated by ideals of successful middle class reproduction (Butler and Robson 2003: 11).

I drew the assumption that HafenCity was predominantly middle and upper middle class from the relative consistency in the residential portrayals of studies on riverside new-build developments. Owing to their realisation by private-market capital, these schemes shared in common an up-market housing segment and respective social selectivity. As I discussed, the predominant diagnosis was that inhabitants of new inner-urban developments display low levels of local attachment and shun social obligations in spatial proximity, maintaining their networks in a geographically dispersed manner (Bounds 2006; Butler 2007; Davidson 2005). This finding stood against the reportage of an intense associational activity among HafenCity residents. As I said, these accounts were not unbiased but geared to developer goals of successfully marketing and selling land. It was at the same time clear that they dealt with existing persons, corroborated by the fact that the latter's names and photographs were included in the reportage.

I was going to concentrate on residents who engaged in joint activities within the neighbourhood and who had distinguished themselves as drivers of its associational life. This was undoubtedly a selective sample of residents whose place-making was proactive and salient. Admittedly, those spending time in the neighbourhood on their own or beyond neighbouring networks were largely obscured from my investigations. My inquiry however implied that I was less interested in isolated activities. Place was made in attachments to a locality generated in interactions with others or at least mediated through their presence. Getting access to residents involved in social circles, initiatives and voluntary associations was key to

answering my first research question on bottom-up place-making. Since such individuals appeared to be spearheads in local associational neighbourhood, it was likely that further neighbouring networks were attached to them. In order to get a good overview of residents' place-making at large, it made sense start with these individuals as a vantage point for local investigations

In many cases, the setting a social researcher wishes to explore requires the prior solicitation of entry through a 'gatekeeper.' Identifying such a person is not trivial, particularly in my case where I was not dealing with a closed-off organisation circumscribed by membership (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 49). A publicly accessible neighbourhood represented a more ambiguous situation. No one could prohibit me from randomly approaching people on the street as a way of identifying residents I wished to include in my research. Such activity was however likely to arouse less suspicion if I introduced myself beforehand to someone distinguished as a local spokesperson. If in doubt, residents could always refer to such a person to reassure themselves about the soundness of my activities.

My entry to the field was eased by the fact that as a research subject, HafenCity was no untrodden path. A post-occupancy interview study on residential satisfaction had been conducted over several months by a sociologist commissioned by the development corporation. Luckily this included no deeper investigation of residents' relationships that would have challenged the claim to novelty I would want to make about my own research. Agar (2008: 79) suggests that establishing an institutional affiliation to the field of study facilitates the process of negotiating access. For me it was most appreciable that the sociologist had been employed permanently as a spokesperson for residents, and that such a person was likely to ease my entry to the field. After one of my PhD supervisors had introduced me to him in an email, he replied confirming that he was happy to support me during fieldwork. When I met him the first time I realised that due to his own research experience, he was aware of the difficulties associated with field entry. There was no need to persuade him of my intent to study residents. He encouraged me to solicit their participation by directly contacting them through phone calls, emails or by ringing door bells. At the same time he made it clear that he would not directly assist

in the recruitment of participants. Residents' contact details he had collected during his own research were too confidential to be handed over. After my initial euphoria about a smooth entry to the field, I realised I had to create my own techniques for securing research participants.

I found the easiest way of making my first contacts with residents was the use of the technique of convenience sampling (Bryman 2001; Duneier 2011). It was a strategy of starting with a subpopulation I considered to be easily accessible, also because I felt that at the start of my investigations I needed a quick reward that would motivate me to proceed confidently. Again, the fact that the development corporation itself had been active as an information gatherer on the emerging community proved beneficial. From its newsletters I knew that a majority of stores had been opened by residents. By making contacts with HafenCity's shop keepers, I started off with a sub-population accustomed to talking to strangers. Café and shop owners resemble what Jane Jacobs (1961: 89-92) called 'public characters' in her study of sidewalk life in Manhattan. Most important is their self-appointed role: they readily engage in conversations with others. Their continuous presence at their sales booths makes them alert to the way strangers handle their inevitable encounters in passing, and to the smallest signals of a potential encroachment on someone's safety.

Many of HafenCity's shop keepers and restaurant proprietors were ready to hand me the contact details of residents they knew from conversations over the counter. Shop keepers thus became valuable as mediators of further contacts besides their own significance as locals with overlapping residential and occupational attachments. It is not expectable generally that those running a shop are also living in the same street (or in some cases, even the same unit). Interestingly, as I soon found out, only very few of the shop keepers living in the area were also involved in local voluntary initiatives. A major reason were time constraints. Many concurred that running a store in a neighbourhood that was still unfamiliar to many demanded extra efforts and extended opening hours.

In parallel to approaching shop-keepers that were also living in the area, I proceeded with a similar convenience sampling in regard to regular residents. I started with those who had been portrayed in the development corporation's newsletter due their local voluntary engagement. As their names were printed in full,



it was not difficult to find matching email addresses online and request an interview. When I had recruited my first handful of informants through this method, I was enabled to enlarge my sample more effectively by calling up people directly. At the end of an interview, most informants agreed to pass me the details of one or two neighbours they knew and which they considered willing to participate. I decided that phone calls would be more effective, there being a greater inhibition to deny my request when I spoke to someone directly. To my great joy practically no one declined when I used this method. I attributed this to my efforts to perform well within the initial few seconds after someone had picked up the phone, by saying my name, university affiliation, and intention in a friendly and not too hasty tone. Through this snowball-sampling technique (Blaikie 2000: 205) my base of informants quickly accumulated to almost 40 residents within the first two months.

The sociologist's special role as an ombudsman for residents spared me the need to laboriously negotiate access to local neighbourhood groups I considered worthwhile for inspection. This included a neighbourhood advisory board. In its meetings residents deliberated over shared interests over place in the co-presence of the ombudsman. My attendance of these board meetings was geared to my third research question addressing residents' place-making in relation to an environment preconceived by planners. These meetings, in which I silently took notes, were an example of place co-produced by residents and institutional agents: they were facilitated by the ombudsman representing the HafenCity development corporation.

The ombudsman granted me to attend one of the board meetings, where he briefly introduced me. This basically sealed the deal of the board members' acceptance of my consequent regular attendance. As a trusted spokesperson who appeared to take residents' concerns serious, the ombudsman had a 'solid insider's reputation' (Agar 1996: 135). It became natural for me to address him whenever I wished to join meetings, neighbourhood events and festivals many of the more active residents hosted. As someone initiated in practically all organised group activities, it was natural for the ombudsman to assist in the orchestration of most events. Since the advisory board was the neighbourhood's most overarching association, upcoming events I could join were also announced in advance during its meetings.

### 3.3 Interviewing residents

I sought to discover residents' relationships to the area and to each other as a process beginning with the event of moving in, initial contacts with neighbours, and stronger forms of affiliation arising thereafter. When compiling my set of questions for interviewing residents, I assembled a set of main questions, defined by Rubin (1995: 146) as a 'series of queries that together cover specific events or stages of a process.' I followed Agar's (2008: 141) suggestion to start an interview by inviting a resident to give a descriptive account of the various situations he or she had gone through after arrival. My main questions were oriented to issues addressed in earlier ethnographies of planned communities occupied for the first time. For many moving to such a place had been synonymous with a 'fresh start' in a new environment appreciated to the one lived in previously (Gans 1967; Ross 1999). Such relocation also tied in to 'elective belonging', as an investment of place with particular values through which middle class members rationalise where they live as the result of a conscious choice (2005; 2010).

In this vein I started an interview with questions on someone's motives for coming to HafenCity, their expectations and the extent to which these had been met. I then transitioned to a section investigating the diffuse concept of 'identification' with a place. Here I assessed what emotional attachment (if any) someone felt to their chosen destination, moving on to inspect how this attachment might manifest itself in concrete local activities. I sensed that a high identification with one's neighbourhood would be concomitant with pursuing some local (leisure) activities, and thus a certain familiarity with other residents connected to them.

My inquiry on residents' forms of relationships, I figured, had to be split into various facets that would grasp how deliberate individuals had sought other contacts. Had they been actively pushed to meet their neighbours or pulled into a social circle by invitation? Through this approach I hoped to recognise a pattern emerging that revealed by what factors associational life was determined. Were there a few extroverted individuals taking the lead? Were there specific groups and civic organisations serving as contact points for those who did not want to be isolated in a new place? When interviewees illustrated which of their neighbours they knew

personally, met up with for drinks or playing cards, or called their 'friends', many mentioned whether they were also active in some association. The various neighbourhood initiatives and informal groups about which I had read indicated a peculiarity about this place: among its residents there seemed to be a higher receptiveness to affiliate with each other than in urban districts not planned on the drawing board. I accordingly ensured to ask every interviewee if they were in some local group, were members of a formal association such as the advisory board, or contributed text to neighbourhood gazette that was voluntarily run. My question on local participation also served as a cue for me to ascertain whether an interviewee qualified for farther reaching contact through participant observation.

Finally then, I turned to an interviewee's perception of and experiences with the HafenCity development corporation. The planner played a prominent role in promoting community ties, foremost through the sociologist acting as an ombudsman who assisted residents in founding and running their associations. In this vein I picked up a question Herbert Gans (1967: xvii) had also posed over forty years ago about the new-build town he had studied: 'To what extent is a community made by its residents and to what extent by leaders, planners, and other experts who want to stimulate innovation and change?' Most residents spontaneously invited me to their homes for taking the interview.

Admission into people's private spaces suggested an extension of my portraits of residential life by photographic material. As interviewees did not object, I took the opportunity to take snapshots of flats. My research question on residents' place-making also entailed the dimension of housing, and to what extent it imported to residents as a practice of symbolic distinction. In the particular case of the very first resident of HafenCity I was lucky enough to interview at his flat, I could indeed establish a connection Zukin (1982) and Podmore (1988) already displayed for gentrifying urban areas: the habitus of a new-economy professional was reflected in a marked sensitivity of the resident for aesthetics in architecture and interior design (Bourdieu 1984). In this vein, I was aiming to get a sense of locals' tastes in home furnishing. When comparing the pictures I had taken, a certain pattern became visible: Many local flats were not particularly large and sometimes only had one bedroom, complemented by an open space area where hallway, kitchen and living

room blended into each other. Most residents stuck to the brightly coloured parquet their flat had been equipped with and avoided bulky, dark furniture. This interior design increased the visual impression of spaciousness of a limited area.

### **3.4 Interviewing planners**

Since my research activity had been sanctioned as genuine by ombudsman Menzl, it was easy for me to arrange an interview with the CEO of the development corporation through him. During my explorative research on HafenCity I had come across many articles in daily news papers, real-estate magazines and architecture supplements that included interviews with the CEO. An interview situation was nothing unfamiliar to him and suggested no precautions to be taken on my side. In these regards, main concerns raised about interviewing elites, such as 'gaining access, acquiring trust, and establishing rapport' (Mikecz 2012: 482) were of no particular issue.

For my interview with the CEO, I had prepared questions that referred to considerations on policies of social mixing that were at the core of his agenda for HafenCity. While such policies tied into contemporary planning discourses at large, their interpretation by the CEO was an interesting aspect in its own right. As he had argued in one of his publications, his particular approach to tendering 'pre-selected' tenancy types and socio-demographic groups for the achievement of an urban sphere with a genuinely 'public character' (Bruns-Berentelg 2012: 79, 86). This was a bold vision that called for further explanation. I started my interview by asking what had induced the CEO to commission a post-occupancy study conducted by the ombudsman. I hoped to generate a narrative that would reveal the significance the CEO assigned to the post of an ombudsman. In inner-urban contexts, such neighbourhood managers have typically been appointed to assist a deprived population to acquire jobs, educational training or other kinds of resources (Bailey and Manzi 2010). It was not self-explanatory that a market-driven estate, where housing prices ensured occupancy by a materially secured population, was provided with its own care taker.

My opening question proved rewarding. The CEO began an extensive lecture, in which he recalled which local events had urged him to take a series of decisions that deviated from the originally foreseen planning scenario. He corroborated his arguments with the urban theory and academic references he had already discussed in his writings on HafenCity. I was accordingly spared the need of asking most questions I had prepared as these were being answered during the CEO's monologue. A difficulty associated with elite interviews is the elicitation of the 'interviewees' own perception of events and not the "public relations" version of a story' (Mikecz 2012: 485) that appears more desirable in the public opinion. The CEO presented his positions passionately, and when I asked him about the idea for a particular building section, he drew an explanatory illustration on a flip chart. Such commitment testified to me that he was indeed exhibiting his personal convictions. The frequent parallels he drew to urban theory and research to corroborate the validity of his statements were far removed from the popular science of HafenCity's PR material.

Further to this encounter, I interviewed a planning official not in charge for land tendering like the CEO, but working more in the background on the overall conception of HafenCity as a new downtown. My interest was in how far the realised environmental design in HafenCity corresponded with its ambitious visions formulated in PR-publications. How far were HafenCity's housing segments steered by market forces rather than by planner ideals oriented to the needs of a wider urban citizenry? I deliberately questioned the use of particular rhetoric in the documentation, in order to assess how much substance was behind terms like 'diversity' and 'finely tuned mix of uses' (HafenCity 2006: 4). In this way I challenged the planning official to expose the extent of congruence between theoretical aspirations and practised reality.

### **3.5 Participant observation**

In order to find out how residents were 'doing the local' in actu, rather than just through their retrospective accounts in interviews, I expanded my main data collection method by sequences of participant observation. While my approach entailed no in-depth immersion into local interactions, I was still interested to find

how bottom-up place-making occurred in joint activities. I was not living in HafenCity, which would have allowed for a more uninterrupted experience of residents' encounters. My approach was not ethnography in the strict sense where I would have participated in daily lives in a more continuous way (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 3). Instead I selected more individual occasions of organised group activity. These went beyond individualist perceptions on the local and casted light on some of the ways in which residents related to their area in meanings they established together. My two research questions involving residents implied that construction of place was nothing achieved in isolation but performed as a collective endeavour: it entailed individuals' interpretations of their social environment as well as their 'actions based on those interpretations' (ibid: 11). Rather than relying purely on interviews as interpretations of local events, being an immediate witness to some of these added authenticity to my local experience (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 97).

One of the settings I chose to this end was a loose group of befriended neighbours congregating for dinner in alternating restaurants located in and around HafenCity. Benson and Jackson (2012: 797) noted how feelings of belonging to place are reinforced when 'repeated discursive practices enact and reinforce particular understandings of place'. In the dinner conversations, locals familiar to each other discussed and negotiated over differing meanings of place, relating their own perceptions to narratives on HafenCity delivered from 'outside' (by the media and non-residents). In such interactions that drew people together on the basis of their shared identification with an area, a shared stock of knowledge (Blaikie 2007: 92, Schütz 1963) was likely to be produced. These dinner group get-togethers were advertised online as an opportunity for residents and others involved in HafenCity to get to know each other and socialise. In this vein I did not have to negotiate access, and furthermore, these were residents with whom I had already established rapport through interviews. The informal nature of these occasions allowed me to become involved rather actively, as a technique of inciting the flow of conversation (Cloke et al. 2004: 151). I hoped to stimulate utterances that would bring to the surface a range of identifications of residents with the local. I asked questions on issues I had identified to be of relevance to residents and also revealed my own standpoints when

I was prompted to do so. During my attendance of the dinners I took notes, reducing the extent of possible distraction by confining myself largely to pauses in between conversations when people were busy with eating.

### **3.6 Relations to the field and their limits**

As Duneier (2011: 3) noted, 'once researchers select an entry point, the chances of getting to know all the people or phenomena equally well are limited due to cleavages within groups' so that 'the method of entry often leads to bias by reducing the likelihood of achieving a good cross section of the population.' This very much describes my own situation of restricted coverage of HafenCity's residential spectrum. A main reason for this was my procedure of prevalently sampling within a particular cohort: I tended to rely on recruiting new interviewees through those with whom I was already familiar. This technique led to a certain self-selecting effect: as my interview partners passed me the contact details of those they considered willing to be interviewed, the more inconspicuous, reserved population remained underrepresented in my study.

There were situations in which my own hesitance impeded my insight into more intimate relations of friendship among residents. What brought my observation sessions to an abrupt end was the moment when groups I had joined in conversation decided to change location. I recall a particular situation toward the end of a neighbourhood summer festival I attended. Over the course of five hours, I had become well attached to a handful of befriended neighbours who knew me individually from previous interviews. When the event approached its end and the group disbanded, the friends pondered over where they would head to continue the party. Half of the group opted for a nearby club, while the remainder decided to retreat to one of the members' flats for some late night cooking.



Image 3.1 With residents enjoying home-made mulled wine in December 2010.  
(Source: author's photo)

None of them invited me to come along. In this moment I became aware that as a participant, I was not the closely accepted companion of residents I would have wished to become. I had not established the rapport of an 'insider' (Agar 1996). Not being able to join the friends in one of their homes denied me insight into the spaces Goffman (1967) referred to as 'back stage'. In these more intimate regions people are able to shed the role scripts they are bound to keep up in the presence of a public audience. Joining the friends could have possibly enabled me to witness conversations in which relationships with other residents would have been revealed more frankly. Of course I could have just bluntly requested to come along. What more than a 'no' would I have risked? Despite my familiarity with many residents, I did not feel entitled to make such a request. There was more at stake for a researcher who wanted to sustain his acceptance as someone who was not considered pushy or intrusive. I was not going to risk impairing my intact relationship with informants and provoke rejection of further interview requests through a clumsy faux-pas.



### **3.7 Ethical issues**

Like any researcher seeking to gather personal information on people, I was urged to legitimise the soundness of my research. In line with the research standards for handling information related to individuals, I ensured to gain my informants' consent on using any data collected on them (Agar 2008: 105-6). I provided every informant with consent forms that instructed them on their rights as research participants. I clarified that all data I would use in writing would be anonymised, in the sense of not using someone's original name or revealing their exact address. I used fictitious names for all my research participants in my writing. Exceptions were the HafenCity CEO Bruns-Berentelg and ombudsman Menzl. Extensive online and print documentation on their affiliations to planning had already been published, rendering notions of anonymity futile. Making data entirely non-ascribable to research participants is difficult in studies focusing on a small geographical setting (Murphy and Dingwall 2001: 341). I pointed out to informants that while it was possible to disguise their identity rather effectively to a wider audience, this could not be equally achieved for their own circumscribed setting. Many residents I wrote about knew each other personally or by hearsay. It would not be difficult for them to identify each other in my descriptive accounts. To my great pleasure none of the interviewees had caveats about this situation in a way that would have kept them from signing the consent form.



Image 3.2 Volunteering with residents at a sales tent of a HafenCity Christmas market. (Source: author's photo)

In one particular case I was urged to share a written account with the interviewee being portrayed. This was HafenCity's very first resident. I had bumped into him on the street and recognised who he was due to media coverage with photographs celebrating his local arrival as a special event. He was the only resident whose actual name I used. He himself had suggested this, considering that news reports had already established him as a public figure. The interview transcript turned out to be so rich that it lent itself to an entire sub-chapter. As I drew on personal and biographical details he had shared with me, I considered it fair to hand the resident a copy. I granted him a co-authorising voice to prevent him from possibly feeling misrepresented in my thesis. If there were disagreements on his side I would be able to address and amend the respective passages prior to submission. This practice attuned to the recommendation made by ethnographers in more recent times to share results with informants (Fernandez et al 2004; Cooper 2007). To my delight, the resident responded in an email that he was 'really enthusiastic' about what I had made out of the interview and that 'there was nothing about which he would not fully

approve.' I took his recognition as a great compliment that went beyond what an interviewer could expect (Duneier 1999: 333-34).

Generally speaking, conducting research with adults who were informed about my role suggested no particular issues that required sensitive handling. My form of participation was at all times overt. I did not conceal my activity to anyone I talked to (Bryman 2001: 294-96). I joined residents in conversations in which they would possibly also exhibit very personal details. Operating under some false identity would have been an abuse of their tolerance of my presence. Informing every person at all times about my role however became impossible in larger, open group settings such as festivals. I sought a strategy to mitigate this moral conflict, despite not being able to fully resolve it. Whenever someone I didn't know joined a conversation in which I was involved, I was quick to introduce myself as a researcher.

Yet, I could not avoid feeling guilty sometimes about the 'opportunism' of the participant observer (Reimer 1977) who exploits the tendency of those observed forgetting about being observed. Admittedly, the consumption of alcohol at some festivals I attended was something I used to my benefit. The loosened, sociable atmosphere encouraged me to pick up on more delicate issues such as conflicts between residents. The festive mood residents were in appeared to stimulate talkativeness on their side, which sometimes sharply revealed their ambiguous relations to some of their neighbours. As Duneier (1999: 336) states on street vendors he observed as a participant at their sales booths, it remained an unresolved question how to show respect for them, 'given the impossibility of complete sincerity at every moment.' I had once been invited to a local dinner party. Although the hosts knew about my investigative role, I did not know whether they had informed the remaining guests. In order not to irritate anyone I had decided not to take field notes in front of them. I instead went to the bathroom to take notes from memory in between conversations – the least disruptive way of recording in group settings (Hammersley 2007: 143). Anxiety befell me afterwards as to whether I had 'deceived' the party guests (Gans 1968: 314) for not having clarified that everything they were saying could potentially be used by me. But then I decided that due to my principle of using fictitious names, individuals were protected from being

compromised by my accounts on more delicate issues. Had I constantly reminded attendants of a group setting about my role, an artificial situation would have been created in which many would have been likely to ‘suppress facts and feelings about which they are ashamed’ (Agar 1996: 108).



Image 3.3 Helping out at a residents' bake-sale at Hamburg's annual harbour anniversary. (Source: author's photo)

### 3.8 Data transcription and analysis

At the end of my eight-month field period lasting from October 2010 to early June 2011, the data I had accumulated comprised 65 voice-recorded interviews and 45 handwritten observation recordings. Quickly realising I was not quick at typing I decided to transcribe the enormous text material using the voice-recording software ‘Dragon Naturally Speaking’. As I listened to an interview recording and read it out aloud into a microphone, I could follow how the words appeared on the computer screen. This technology enabled me to cut down the required transcription time to a little less than half of that needed for typing up the interviews. Even technically

advanced voice software is far from perfect, so I was frequently forced to correct transcription mistakes manually.

When the extensive text material was finally available in digital documents, I began organising the data through *coding* (Hammersley 2007: 153-4). I surveyed each transcript of an interview or observation session for topics emerging in its text passages. Such a passage could be as short as one sentence in which an informant gave the reason for having moved to HafenCity. For some this reason was a water vista, for others the qualities attributed to a newly built environment. In this case 'motives for coming' to HafenCity was respectively the overarching topic. A passage could also encompass several paragraphs, such as in the case of a controversial discussion between neighbours. Whenever I spotted a theme, I assigned the text passage in which it was dealt with to a title - a code. The code 'motives' accordingly would encompass all passages in which residents were explaining why they had moved along. The codes I generated this way were given labels I borrowed from common social science terminology, aiming to grasp individual perspectives and experiences, interpersonal relationships, and features of group constellations, to name just a few .

In my coding method I to some extent oriented myself to the research tradition of 'Grounded Theory' (Glaser and Strauss 1967). This approach seeks to establish explanations and theories on social phenomena on the basis of the empirical material gathered on them. Like in my own study, it seeks to understand the reality of actors within a particular context (an organisation, profession, subculture, web of kinship relations, residential community etc.) as it is understood by them in shared meanings (Blaikie 2007: 92) which they apply to reproduce this reality in interactions. The coding technique used in this approach compares data for finding themes that appear to form a pattern. This pattern is then 'coded' into a concept, a theoretical term that grasps the feature diagnosed as typical for the group or social context under inspection (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 101-13). Although I indeed sought to discover broader patterns existing across HafenCity's population, I did not set out to establish an exhaustive theory of its residential life. There were limits to the data I could capture as a novice to participant research, on a community in which I was above all not living. For a qualitative researcher it would have been ideal to

move directly to the area studied, as was the case with ethnographies provided by Gans (1967), Ross (1999) and Blokland (2003). Since HafenCity commanded some of Hamburg's highest rent prices, this option was not available to me.

After breaking up and categorising my text files with the use of NVivo qualitative data analysis software, an unmanageable number of 120 codes had been generated. When I tried to set particular ones in relation to each other, because they for instance dealt with residents' leisure activities, no connection sprang to my eyes. The problem with dividing up text material into codes was its de-contextualisation (Hammersley 2007: 155-56). Often text passages subsumed under a code merged together quotes of residents who were not personally associated. A code I had for example named 'engagement in neighbourhood advisory board' contained explanations for residents' membership in the board. Such individualised accounts however did not shed light on how these members were interacting with each other. The relationships in which a resident was locally embedded could only be fully understood by revisiting entire transcripts. Only cross-comparison of longer passages in which the same individuals were mentioned or an event they had attended, enabled to unveil the complexity of entire webs of relations. In this vein, NVivo was not the kind of magical package that would have explained data in the way I had thought. Rather than for analysis, codes instead became helpful whenever I needed to re-inspect a particular detail or information I wanted to include in writing. Thanks to my meticulous breakdown of the data, its content was finely differentiated into a multitude of key words I could look up whenever required.

The appendix of this work includes a table specifying sociodemographic data for each resident interviewed. The numbers I individually ascribed to the cases are the same ones I use when quoting a particular resident in a text passage. This way, residents I portray in writing can be matched to their (anonymised) socio-demographic data to provide a richer individual account.

### 3.9 A note on translation

In order to let my data speak in a possibly vivid way, I used numerous quotes from my interviews with residents as well as the conversations I had recorded. Such quoting was a challenge in itself, as it required repeated translation of my German transcript material into the English language. Müller (2007: 207) grasps the problematic nature of trying to pinpoint the particular meaning of terms in the process of their translation:

Translation in the classic sense is the replacement of text in a source language by text in a target language equivalent in meaning. The term ‘equivalent’ constitutes the bone of contention in this definition of translation, for it is well-nigh impossible to achieve full equivalence of meaning in translation. Different languages structure the world in different ways and translations constantly suffer from not being able to convey the richness of connotations, especially as they are associated with certain key words, or ‘god words’ (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam 1994), in other languages.

In accordance with this depiction, the ‘authentic’ translation of verbatim quotes was all but a straightforward matter. The term ‘Hausgemeinschaft’ for example, was used by some interviewees to refer to the entirety of their neighbours living on the same block. It only inappropriately translates as ‘house community.’ While the English *house* denotes a single-family unit, the German *Haus* is an umbrella term for a wide range of buildings including blocks of flats and office complexes. When there was no equivalent term available in English I tended to avoid verbatim quotes that would have required explanations of untranslatable terms. Such add-ons would have weakened the illustrative effect a quote aims to achieve in the first place. For conveying the meaning of someone’s speech in such cases, I instead gave a descriptive account.

## **4 Context: Germany, Hamburg, HafenCity**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines how the redevelopment project HafenCity relates to urban planning discourses and agendas that have shaped urban development policy in democratic post World War II Germany. Hamburg has a special status in the country's federal political system, enjoying considerable autonomies as a city state that reach back to its beginnings in the middle ages. The need to defend its pre-eminence as a sea-faring trade hub always made the protection of its port into a mainstay of urban development. Hamburg's urban makeup was always inspired and shaped also by the transnational economic processes and trade relations into which it is embedded. Further to this, the city's physical configuration is also a product of the influential, big urban ideologies of 20th century modernist planning. In this context, HafenCity epitomises Hamburg's efforts to successfully complete its transition into a post-industrial, global era of production. As a 'flag-ship' project conspicuously visible in Hamburg's urban core, HafenCity works as an iconic marker of place that signalises Hamburg's ambitions to move up in the hierarchy of world cities.

The chapter begins with an overlook of Hamburg's historical development into a leading European port and commercial centre. This outline is followed by a sketch of urban planning approaches taken in Germany since 1945, leading over to the particular challenges Hamburg was facing during its 20th century development. The city's policies in housing and infrastructure design and their impediments are shown to be grounded to an extent in the circumscription of a city's jurisdictional competencies by its territorial boundaries. The extensive land appropriation of the harbour infrastructure was itself a factor impeding urban development to progress evenly across all of the city's neighbourhoods. As a comprehensive development project, HafenCity spearheads Hamburg's attempt at integrating its long-neglected southern districts with the economically prospering northern half of the city. I will illustrate this attempt through an inspection of the local political background that inspired the conversion of Hamburg's derelict inner docks into a setting for non-



industrial uses. The chapter ends with a portrayal of the first individual that moved to HafenCity, hailing in the place's occupation as a residential site.

## **4.2 Hamburg - a historical sketch of Germany's leading port**

### **4.2.1 A free city in the Holy-Roman Empire**

Before Hamburg's medieval heyday as a merchant town, its original role was that of an outpost for missionary work established after Charlemagne's victory over the Saxons. Founded as a diocese in 831 by Emperor Ludwig der Fromme ('the Pious'), its name is derived from the castle *Hammaburg*, itself named after a nearby village named *Hamm* (Klessmann 2002: 18). The area around the castle was soon settled by merchants, craftsmen and fishers, while the first harbour consisted of a small fleet nourished by the Bille, the smallest of Hamburg's three rivers, the other two being the Alster and the Elbe (Krieger 2006: 12-13). Through an authorising decision of German King Otto I. it was arranged that for more than two centuries, Hamburg's reign was shared between spiritual and secular power, so that arch bishops and secular lords operated side by side (Klessmann *ibid*: 23).

Hamburg's economic upswing was initialised with the promotion of private business activity on land hitherto held by princes. In 1188, the counts ruling over the Northern German county Holstein in which Hamburg was also located, expanded the town's area by building a New Town (Klessmann *ibid*: 25). They devoted this new section to private merchant activity and the construction of a harbour on the Elbe, the local river that was far better suited for navigation than the smaller Alster (Krieger 21). In 1189, German Emperor Barbarossa agreed to grant the New Town a series of privileges that marked the kickoff of Hamburg's rise to a merchant town: free commercial exchange and the exemption of local merchants from paying duties on goods they shipped on the section of the Elbe River located between the local harbour and its mouth on the North Sea (Klessmann *ibid*: 26). During the period in which Hamburg was reigned by the Count of Holstein, the city was granted an exceptional number of privileges. By 1215, Hamburg governed itself through a city government comprised of the 30 most wealthy merchants and craftsmen, while the

generic population was represented by the parliament or 'Citizenry' (*Bürgerschaft*<sup>2</sup>) that had to be consulted when important decision makings were at stake (Krieger 2002: 25).

Hamburg's glory as a member of the *Hanseatic League* of commercial towns began with its alliance with the economically more important port Lübeck on the Baltic Sea, for which Hamburg served as a sally port to the North Sea (Krieger 2006: 27). Hamburg's dense web of trade routes developed with other countries suggested the consolidation of a myriad of individual interest associations existing among trades people since the 11th century. In their place, the *Hanse* (the Hanseatic League) was founded in the 13th century as a trade alliance not between merchants but Northern European towns, which among others included Hamburg, Lübeck, Amsterdam, Antwerp and London (Klessmann 2010: 45).

Hamburg's purchase of several coastal outposts over the 14th century expanded its ambit over sea trade, but at the same time charged it with the ungrateful task within the Hanseatic League of fending off pirate attacks (Krieger 2006: 29). By means of a joint navy force, Hamburg and Lübeck managed to seize the ships of Störtebeker and Michels, two of the most notorious pirate captains. The dozens of crew members and their two leaders were beheaded on Hamburg's Grasbrook in 1401 - the central harbour island on which HafenCity is being developed today (ibid). It would however take another 125 years to push back pirate activity entirely to other sea regions (Klessmann ibid: 50-52).

Hamburg's unconditional will to remain neutral and independent determined its lack of loyalty to allies like the Hanseatic League over the 15th century. Under the pretext that it could not turn against their lord, the Citizenry refused to support Lübeck in its war against Denmark in 1508, which would have been Hamburg's duty as a league member (ibid: 64). Instead, Hamburg seized the opportunity to appropriate the trade business in the North and Baltic Seas. The Hanseatic League was indeed already in such a state of decline that Hamburg was no longer under much pressure to stick to its obligations: economic shifts, most prominently the

---

<sup>2</sup> Until today, the 'Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg' is administrated by a bicameral system: the governing *Senate* and popular representation through the *Citizenry*.

establishment of new trade routes with the discovery of America, expedited the demise of the league (ibid: 64-65).

#### **4.2.2 Germany's largest port**

The sixteenth century brought a yet more decisive turn for Hamburg's commerce: It rose to Germany's largest port. This process was strenuous and required emancipation from the Hanseatic League. In the sixteenth century, local merchants dexterously worked on establishing the city as a hub for its trade routes to the Netherlands, the Baltic area and domestic ports such as Cologne. As the Bille and Alster Rivers were becoming too small for the growing ship traffic, all attention now shifted to the harbour on the more voluminous Elbe River, and the repeated dredge works undertaken to enlarge its basin for the increasing size of freight vessels (Klessmann ibid: 104-5). Hamburg's thriving trade induced the founding of several financial institutions, a stock exchange in 1558 (ibid: 109), a clearing bank in 1619 (Krieger ibid: 43), and a chamber of commerce in 1667 (ibid: 62) - all of which were the first of their kind in the German Empire.

In the 17th and more so the 18th century, Hamburg experienced a cultural blossom as a communication and publishing centre. Surely, its favourable geographical location at the intersection of trade routes to Western Europe and those bound inward to the German Empire played an essential part (Krieger 2006: 68). News and cultural innovations reached the city quickly and facilitated the emergence of a diversified press landscape that was unrivalled in the German Empire (Klessmann ibid: 187). Daily and weekly news papers were launched since the 1620s, which were not least co-inspired by the journals of Dutch merchants settling in Hamburg since the 16th century (Krieger ibid: 69). The Dutch simultaneously shaped a flourishing book publishing activity. Further to print media, cafes and tea rooms established themselves as places for the exchange of news, a trend promoted especially among those that could afford the en vogue drinks tea, coffee and cocoa (ibid).

During Napoleon's territorial reorganisation of Europe, Hamburg was devastated like never before as a result of French appropriation of imports and their confiscation (Krieger *ibid*: 81-2). But luckily, new trade relations with North America had been well established in the meantime and allowed for an unprecedented boom phase that lent Hamburg the reputation of the continent's leading banking centre (Klessmann *ibid*: 329). When Hamburg agreed to join the German Bund after the defeat of Napoleon, a federal organisation of German states, it lost its century-old neutrality. The city however profited economically from the authorised exemption from duties on almost all water ways on the German territory (Klessmann *ibid*: 411). A fortunate moment arrived for the city due to geo-political changes: with Latin America's colonies gaining independence from Spain and Portugal, particularly the trade relations developed with Brazil brought unprecedented wealth.

A further novelty that accelerated Hamburg's key role as a transshipment point arrived after the unification of Germany's princedoms into the first German nation state in 1871 (Krieger *ibid*: 92). As a member of the newly founded German Empire led by Prussia, Hamburg temporarily withstood the pressure put on it to join the German toll union, the *Zollverein*. Membership would have meant for Hamburg that all foreign goods shipped into the harbour would have been subjected to surcharges before sale, clearly reducing its attractiveness for merchants. In exchange for eventually willing in to join the *Zollverein*, Hamburg was granted to build the *Freihafen*, a toll-free harbour. This ten-square-kilometre section annexed from the harbour enabled temporary storage of incoming goods free of charge. This exemption not only massively spurred the trade of spices, coffee, tobacco, and oriental carpets within the free port, but also the growth of related industries dealing with the processing, refinement and packaging of raw materials and derivatives in the late 19th century (Krieger *ibid*: 92). An extended portrayal of the free harbour will follow in the section on the planning background of HafenCity.

It would take until the final dissolution of the old German Empire for a general equality in citizen rights to be enforced in Hamburg. In 1919, one year after the end of World War I and the founding of the first German Republic, every adult resident in Hamburg, including women, was given the right to vote (Klessmann *ibid*:

537). During the National-Socialist period, the decade-long dispute fought with Prussia over a potential 'Greater Hamburg', was resolved on behalf of Hamburg (ibid: 542). The city's requests to incorporate adjacent communities forming part of its agglomeration but already on Prussian territory had consistently been rejected. With the enactment of the Greater-Hamburg Law in 1937, these added areas increased the city's population from 1.2 to 1.68 million inhabitants and enabled the long-awaited spatial expansion of port-related and industrial facilities (ibid: 542-3).

#### **4.2.3 Hamburg as a member state of contemporary Germany**

With approximately 1.76 million inhabitants and an area of 755 km<sup>2</sup>, Hamburg today is Germany's second largest city after Berlin, the country's largest and Europe's second largest port outrivaled only by Rotterdam (verkehrs-rundschau.de). Since the founding of the Federal German Republic in 1949, it has been one of 16 federal states (Smith 2012: 98-99). Next to Berlin and Bremen, it holds the special status of a city-state in recognition of its century-old history as a free city within the German Empire (Krieger 2006: 108). The latest census figures gathered in December 2013 state that 51% of the population were living in single-person households (stats 2015: 14). The fraction of those with a non-German passport was 13,4 percent, whereas those with an immigrant background, including those who held German citizenship, made up 30.8 percent (ibid: 21). In tune with the scenario of expected immigration, mainly due to the attractiveness of the city's strong labour market, Hamburg was estimated to grow to 1.85 million inhabitants by the year 2025 (ibid: 15). According to the eurostat figures gathered in 2011, Hamburg had a GDP per capita of 202 percent of the EU average, coming in fourth after Inner London, Luxemburg and Brussels (eurostat). In 2011, the average net monthly wage of someone in full-time employment was 2323 Euros (ibid), slightly higher than the German average of 2189 Euros (destatis 2011).

Economically, the port is still Hamburg's largest employer, but at the same time no longer inevitable for the city's sustenance. Other industries have prospered over the post-war decades. Hamburg is Germany's leading print media city, where

many of the nation's leading journals are produced, including the weekly news journals *Spiegel*, *Stern* and *Die Zeit* (hwf 2015). 40% percent of Germany's popular magazines appear in mainly four large Hamburg-based publishing houses (ibid: 611). Hamburg is also the nation's key production site for recording media and popular music. The number of firms concentrated in advertising, public relations and industrial design is unrivalled in Germany (hwf 2015). Meanwhile, achieved by a rapid adaptation to container storage, Germany's leading port is the second largest in Europe and only trumped by Rotterdam (Klessmann ibid: 612). The vast majority of the city's work force is occupied in the tertiary sector, accounting for 86.9%, while the finance sector on its own, including banking, insurance and real-estate, amounts to 25,3% (Handelskammer Hamburg 2015: 8). Further important industries are the food industry, electrical appliances, mechanical, optical and electronic engineering, and chemistry and pharmaceuticals (ibid: 30). A further accent is the aerospace industry that includes Europe's Airbus development centre in tandem with one in Toulouse (hwf 2015).

#### **4.3 Urban Redevelopment in Germany since 1945**

Unlike centralist European countries like France and the UK, Germany has a polycentric urban character with no single dominating city. Its history of strong regional and provincial urban centres persists until today in its federal system of governance. This three-tiered system considerably devolves political power from Germany's central government to the federal member states and further down to the municipal level. This segmentation is also reflected in Germany's practices of urban regeneration, which are not united by any national urban development policy (Couch, Sykes and Börstinghaus 2011: 18-19). While under New Labour, the UK for instance embarked on its ambitious 'Urban Renaissance' agenda (Imrie and Raco 2003), such nationally binding programmes are absent in Germany. Due to Germany's federal system the individual member states, the *Länder*, possess high autonomy in legislation and administration. Municipalities are de facto responsible for local land use planning, while their generic rights and obligations are prescribed in the national

constitution. This shared competency across all three government levels turns planning into a complex process that necessitates permanent exchange between a municipal authority in charge and the other two political levels as equal partners (Couch, Sykes and Börstinghaus *ibid*: 18). The local level has substantial control over planning with mechanisms of generally high democratic accountability (*ibid*: 19).

After the destructions in World War II, Germany's urban recovery programmes drew heavily on the Charta of Athens and its principles of the rationalist, compartmentalised city. They entailed clearing large areas from their remains of pre-war building stock that had withstood the bombings but were regarded as obsolete in terms of living standards. The razed sites were replaced with extensive modernist development schemes. By the late 1960s, the perceived monotony of this slash-and-burn policy, expressing itself in the proliferation of motor ways, the standardised housing block and office zone, came increasingly under attack. In parallel, this development policy was also criticised for fulfilling the interests of speculators and large building companies, and supporting their malpractice of demolishing old, low priced housing stock (*ibid*: 28). It was social scientists like Alexander Mitscherlich rather than planners who paved the way for a paradigm change in planning culture through their written pleas for an alternative to the modernist city (*ibid*: 27).

The subsequent public and institutional debates led to a reappraisal of older, densely built urban quarters. The dominant leitmotif of the 'segmented and scattered city' gave way to an euphoria for a dense entanglement of urban uses taking shape in the scenario 'urbanity by density' (Heineberg 2014: 139). Historical inner city quarters that had been marginalised as backward shanty towns were reconsidered under appreciable aspects such as their longstanding neighbourhood networks and diversity of small scale economies. Private developers however continued to have reservations about the core city they still regarded as a risky field of investment. In this context, renewal was being led by public subsidies that urban councils received from the Länder as well as from federal government (Couch, Sykes and Börstinghaus *ibid*: 28).

While in other European development contexts, housing rehabilitation began to displace residents from inner city areas, in Germany, the same effect arose with the destruction of underused or under-occupied buildings and their replacement with *new* ones (ibid). Kreuzberg, Berlin, is a case in point not only for this practice but also for civil forms of resistance that helped to hail in a new, nationwide awareness for the protection of existing building stock. Neglected as a quarter stretching along the boundary to communist East Berlin, Kreuzberg was a playing field for redevelopment companies and their strategy of buying up rundown housing blocks, their demolition and replacement, and the rehousing of tenants (ibid). A turning point came in the mid-1970s with growing resistance to residents' evictions and the subsequent squatter's movement, many of whose adherents renovated the very buildings they occupied on their own initiative. Furthermore, the inauguration of the 'European Year of Monument Protection' in 1975, and the federal introduction of laws and subsidies encouraging owner-occupiers to renovate their historical buildings, were factors facilitating the re-appreciation of cities' extant housing stock among authorities (Heineberg ibid: 140f).

Germany's prolonged efforts at post-war urban reconstruction in the 1950s and 60s had helped to reconstitute most of its cities as liveable and economically competitive in relation to other Western European countries. Yet, this did not spare Germany from the urban crisis induced by the 1970s world economic recession, the symptoms of which were particularly felt in its industrial mining region by the Ruhr River (Couch, Sykes and Börstinghaus ibid: 28-29). It became evident that the 1980s economic upswing did not materialise in neighbourhoods in which impoverishment and decline concentrated. Since the insecure status of such areas kept away private investments, local governments stepped in with innovative solutions.

In this vein, the new approach of 'careful urban renewal' (ibid: 28) expanded physical building preservation by measures aimed at protecting also the social structure of neighbourhoods. Top-down policy was rolled back in favour of a mix of bottom-up development approaches that sought to proceed through immediate dialogue with an incumbent population. This included the promotion of combined living and working in the district as a means to stabilise locally based businesses, self-help programmes and the reuse of vacated industrial sites for new economic



developments. Forms of residential participation in the process included local 'area offices' and workshops as contact points, figuring as predecessors of the later established model of neighbourhood management (ibid: 28-29, 38). It cannot be denied that despite these efforts, the re-designation of old neighbourhoods into 'listed areas' could not prevent gentrification; there were drastic rent increases and a consequent displacement of low income households, particularly when home owners used federal subsidies for luxury conversions of their rundown buildings (Helbrecht 1996: 2007-8; Heineberg ibid: 40-1).

The event of German reunification presented urban development with new socio-demographic challenges. Enterprises hesitated to invest in the new East German Länder and promote their transition from a centrally planned economy to a market one. The result were growing rates of regional unemployment and accelerated emigration from many East German cities to the economically more promising West German Länder. Shrinking cities in the East became a pressing issue, while at the same time cities in the old industrial regions of the Western Länder were similarly struggling to recover from economic demise. National government and the Länder recognised the need for joint remedial action that extended the existing programmes of urban regeneration. The result was the collaborative and long-term programme *Soziale Stadt* (Social City) launched in 2009, targeting urban districts with special development needs (Couch, Sykes and Börstinghaus ibid: 21; Weck 2009: 525). It is a multi-level governance approach in which local residents and authorities are activated as well as public and private sector organisations reaching up to EU level. Multi-agent collaborations are directed at improving the situation of specific neighbourhood populations such as younger people and long-term unemployed, by integrating housing and environmental improvement with opportunities for local employment and education. A novelty is that European Union welfare funds are also made available for individual urban areas (Weck ibid: 525-6).

In order to halt urban shrinkage and improve the attractiveness of inner cities, the federal programme 'Stadtumbau Ost' (Urban Redevelopment East) was yet a further programme launched to specifically tackle the depopulation of many Eastern German cities (Couch, Sykes and Börstinghaus ibid: 32). In the tradition of Germany's federal system, municipalities were authorised by the *Bund* to deploy

their individual made-to-measure strategies of intervention. To a large extent, these took shape in the downsizing of the number of vacant flats by partial demolition, particularly in areas with high-rise blocks built in precast concrete-slab fashion regarded as inferior to contemporary standards of living (ibid).

In the 1990s, German regeneration policy became increasingly influenced by the heightened awareness to global environmental problems. The acknowledgement among industrial nations that resource depletion and ecological damage were the price paid for unhampered growth found its way into Germany's conception of urban development in form of *environmental protection* ('Umweltschutz') as a key policy objective. The Agenda 21 passed at the Rio Conference on the Environment gave the impetus for translating ecologically oriented policies into concrete scenarios for urban regeneration applicable for Germany (Heineberg ibid: 142). A stipulated long-term goal was the reduction of urban sprawl and a spatially balanced exploitation of already occupied land area for social and economic uses (Bauriedl 2007: 29-30). In this vein, antagonistic political and economic interests of land use were presenting the largest conflict areas of urban and regional policy. Toward a more 'efficient' and 'sufficient' use of land, options for the decoupling of growth and environmental exploitation are being discussed at the local scale since the early 1990s (ibid: 31).

A step in this direction has been made in new-build schemes built on vacated industrial sites. Various urban uses and building types are packed together on a small scale for minimising car use, but also for accommodating to the needs of spatially coexisting population groups (Heineberg ibid: 146). In this vein, the principle of spatially dense use-mix - the 'compact city' (ibid: 144; Jessen 2005) or 'city of short distances' (Bauriedl ibid: 31) - underwent a revival. Until today, however, evaluations of such sustainability-oriented strategies present a wide scope for interpretation; there are still no useful ways for defining a ceiling for land uses, nor reliable indicators for measuring the effectiveness of sustainable development (ibid). The scarcity of cheap urban land in some German regions is regarded as responsible for continued resource depletion. Land grab due to the proliferation of office parks and shopping malls and an incessant demand for single-family homes sustains suburban sprawl and motorised traffic (Heineberg ibid: 143).

In this regard 'sustainable urban development' has become established as the preeminent narrative in German development policy and remains its most influential one. In its scope and ambitiousness it is comparable to Britain's 'Urban Renaissance' agenda, as it similarly seeks to restore 'urban areas to make them both desirable places to live and at the same time more environmentally sustainable' (Lees 2003: 6). Subsumed under the notion of 'sustainability' have been a city's historical and cultural specificities and measures for their effective exposure for demonstrating local liveability and economic attractiveness (Couch, Sykes and Börstinghaus *ibid*: 29). In tune with a global trend of urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989), city marketing is meanwhile a firmly integrated instrument for Germany's local authorities for promoting images representing a vernacular tradition. The celebration of a city's culture through spectacle - in festivals, cultural and sports events - has become a way in which urban regeneration advertises local living quality as a 'soft factor' of place for potential investors, tourists and new residents (Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2007).

Enduring efforts at the European level for more collaboration further nurtured the model of urban sustainable development with impulses coming from EU-level. When Germany held the office of EU council presidency in 2007, it used the opportunity for launching the EU Leipzig Charta for the Sustainable European City (Heineberg *ibid*: 146). Effective within the ministries responsible for urban development in all EU member states, the Charta once more highlights the need to understand urban issues as interlinked and requiring an integrated approach that cuts across all relevant policy fields (*ibid*: 146-7; Weck *ibid*: 524).

The self-commitment of each EU member state to embark on such an approach necessitated a stronger collaboration in Germany between the central government, the federal states, and the municipalities (Heineberg *ibid*: 146). Intensified information exchange between the three levels fostered the consolidation of policy activities and marked the beginning of efforts at developing a nationally oriented development policy. The general outline for this National Policy framework was spelt out by the Ministry of Transport, Construction and Urban Development. The framework identified socio-economic disparity between urban regions with a co-existence of urban growth *and* shrinkage as the biggest challenge for urban

development (ibid: 146-7). Attempts at mitigating this inter-urban imbalance have been a continual process in which individual cities have tested innovative measures and carried out pilot projects across a range of practice areas. Key practice areas include: housing models adjusted to the needs of particular socio-demographic groups, civil society and citizen activation, urban networks and social cohesion, innovation as a motor for economic development, and climate protection (Couch, Sykes and Börstinghaus ibid: 34; Heineberg ibid: 147). The experiences made by municipalities with concretisations of these practice areas are being evaluated for the identification of 'best practices' that could be recommended for a National Policy Agenda.

Such 'best practices' have been criticised for their assumption that the 'diffusion' of new approaches as such will already induce favourable results (Bauriedl ibid: 33). Reliance on the transferability of a solution to cities across Germany accordingly disregards their context-dependence given within a specific locality. Singular projects impede the receptiveness for wider reaching strategies and alternative practices. Conversely, the stipulation of universal practices contradicts the notion of leaving space for place-specific innovations, since local potentials are not being sufficiently considered. Bauriedl (ibid: 33-4) stresses that the profiteers of best practices tend to be local actors themselves, so that the transferability to policies tackling global challenges for sustainability is questionable. In essence, locally applied processes in the wake of the Leipzig Agenda have until now led to only few nationally applicable policy-directives.

## **4.4 Urban development in Hamburg since the industrial age**

### **4.4.1 Industrial growth and demolition in the 19th century**

Several events of destruction and subsequent renewal entailed that Hamburg changed its face drastically over the centuries. Major incidents include the Danish invasions in the 9th century, the notorious fire of 1842 devastating the city's medieval fundamentals, and the war bombings of a single night in 1943 that razed the

majority of the downtown (Klessmann *ibid*: 401-3, 590; Krieger 2006: 12-13). Above all, a rather pragmatic relationship to the city's building stock ensured that demolition and replacement have been quite frequent since the industrial age. This observation induced historian Alfred Lichtwark (1897) to the famous label 'Free and Demolition City of Hamburg' (Klessmann *ibid*: 36). The kickoff for Hamburg's redevelopment into a modern trade metropolis were the devastations inflicted by the fire catastrophe of 1842 (*ibid*: 406). The subsequent policies spanning the 19th century were not rarely ones of urban destruction to create space; several edifices considered outmoded were sacrificed, such as churches and monastic buildings. Historian Klessmann (*ibid*: 377) notes that if anything, it was this destruction of heritage that fuelled Hamburg's image as a city of uncultured 'money bags'.

At times, the traditional priority the port had always enjoyed in urban development made itself felt in an uncompromising way for Hamburg's residents. For the construction of the duty-free harbour in 1888, the *Freihafen*, free space was created on two centrally located harbour islands named the *Kleine Grasbrook*. The dense rows of half-timbered houses occupying it were bulldozed, evicting 20,000 people without any programme for re-housing (Kähler 2009: 13). Before this background, it is a curiosity that all urban extensions took place in the absence of any official planning. A department on this matter did not exist. Like in the remainder of Germany at the time, urban development was the responsibility of civil engineering departments that defined the courses of new streets. At the same time, infrastructure supply was already regarded as a public task; with every new street built, supply lines were simultaneously laid under the ground in such a way that a maximum of buildings could be simultaneously provided for (*ibid*: 25).

#### **4.4.2 The institutionalisation of urban planning in the early 20th century**

In the years around 1910, the state, represented by the city government's chambers of the Senate and the Citizenry, was very actively involved in development. As Kähler (2010: 29) puts it, the self-conception of Hamburg had changed. Hamburg used to see itself through the lens of a mediievally shaped order

notably protected by guilds, in which every person had had a fixed social position. Meanwhile the city was regarded as something in which the community was acknowledged as the beneficiary of welfare provisions. Respectively, a series of splendid buildings for community services emerged in the inner city which stood out from the mass of privately developed blocks due to their elaborate facade ornamentation. Such representation testified to the importance of the state (ibid: 29-30). Many key buildings for commercial, cultural and recreational use at the time were state built, such as the wholesale market hall, the music hall, the museum of ethnology, the first university buildings and many schools, swimming baths, court houses and also the large public green area *Volkspark* (ibid: 28-30).

This renewal would have been unthinkable without the call of *Fritz Schumacher* to the city government in 1909 (ibid: 30). As an architect and co-founder of the architect's movement 'Deutsche Werkbund', he was a theoretical innovator of his time. He pleaded for new architectural forms he saw as a necessary corrective to the excesses of industrialisation (ibid: 30-1). Regarding the reform oriented spirit in urban development at the time, Hamburg was lagging behind. Split into a department for civil engineering responsible for subterranean infrastructure and one for the construction of housing, there was no holistic view onto urban development. Schumacher's efforts at emancipating local development policy came to fruition over time against initial resistance of the Senate, Hamburg's government. His ability to assert himself culminated after World War I in the fusion of the authorities for construction, urban building, and urban development under his leadership. In the newly founded office of the *Oberbaudirektor* ('general building director') he now had full competency over residential area planning and the design of all public buildings, fields that until now had been separately managed (ibid: 32).

Schumacher's 'Axial Plan' from 1919 (ibid: 53) was a visually intriguing scheme in which urban development proceeded along eleven radial corridors reaching outward from the core city, each ending in one of the peripheral towns by which Hamburg was surrounded. This model was undoubtedly inspired by the human-ecological understanding of the city as a natural organism prevalent at the time. With his intention to simultaneously extend the harbour basins east and westward on the Elbe River, Schumacher also had local merchants on his side. An

impediment to the plans' swift implementation was Hamburg's traditional 'imprisonment' by immediately adjoining towns which for centuries had resisted the city's geographic expansion. Schumacher's urban axes would develop very hesitantly for almost two decades, until the 'Greater Hamburg Law' incorporated several suburbs to substantially enlarge the city's area (ibid: 52-4). During the National Socialist era, no architecture styles of their own were created for Hamburg. Rather, terraces and housing estates were shaped in a revived regional style that invoked an ideological emphasis on the traditions of a local 'ethnicity' - the *Völkische*. Building facades as well as the floor plans informing them were very much standardised and industrially mass produced (ibid: 88).

#### **4.4.3 Modernist large-scale planning after World War II**

Due to massive bombings of Hamburg in World War II, only 20 percent of the housing remained undamaged, 49 percent were completely destroyed (ibid: 590), and the population had been reduced from 1.7 to 1.1 million (Klessmann ibid: 590-1). Architects and planning visionaries generally agreed that there would be no return to the densely built city that had been vulnerable to bombings and conflagration. A new kind of urban development had to be considered, one that emphasised the 'social obligations of private capital' (Kähler ibid: 111). This was a principle stated in the constitution of newly founded West Germany that recalled how unhampered capitalism had unleashed the economic crisis of the 1920s (ibid: 111). In the reconstruction plans for widely destroyed Hamburg, central ideas of the urban masterplan (*Generalbebauungsplan*) the Nazis had conceived in 1943 were maintained (ibid: 114). The plan foresaw a deconcentration of built structures, with islands of up to 6000 residents embedded into open landscapes or green belts. It was a vision that presaged the model of the 'loosely segmented city' (see chapter 4.1) in tandem with the functional separation of industry, trade, provisions and residency as propagated by the Charta of Athens highly influenced by Le Corbusier (ibid: 114-5).

The *Generalbebauungsplan* took into account and reinterpreted Schumacher's Axial Plan, which could now be deployed optimally with the generous territorial

expansion Hamburg had undergone with the Greater Hamburg Law (ibid: 118). While the harbour remained the economic focal point under which all other urban areas were subordinated, the level of the individual neighbourhood was now considerably strengthened: over the 1950s numerous districts were supplied with their own centres that included church buildings, retail miles, sports facilities and green areas (ibid: 122). The dense perimeter development of the past was strictly avoided in the new residential estates, in favour of row construction: slabs of short housing blocks separated by wide bushy green areas accessible by foot walks rather than roads resembled an anti-thesis to the congested industrial city of the late 19th century. It turned out however that the particular mode of enforcing the right to humane conditions of dwelling *for all* led to unwanted side effects. While being generously embedded into park landscapes, these housing estates were socially isolating in light of their missing commercial and public facilities (ibid: 124).

The widespread optimism within the early 1960s German population, spurred by an unbroken phase of post-war economic upswing and improvement in living standards, translated into higher ambitions also among planners. For a boomtown like Hamburg, a mid-term population growth from 1.6 to 2.2 million inhabitants was forecasted (ibid: 143-44). A response to this was a modification of the planning scenario of the segmented and scattered city that had brought forth several monotonous - despite green - housing estates. The new scenario was the 'poly-nucleic city' with Hamburg's Old and New Town forming a thriving business centre and multiple sub-centres developing in the surrounding inner city (ibid: 144). The new catchword that influenced this return to urban density - a condition that had not long ago been associated with the horror of 19th century city - was 'urbanity by density' (*Urbanität durch Dichte*) coined by economist Edgar Salin in 1960 (ibid: 144). While it was only partially put into practice over the next decade, the densely mixed city was on the march as a guideline influencing German development policies at large<sup>3</sup> (ibid: 144).

A solution was also found for the incessant demand for office space within Hamburg's rapidly growing tertiary economy: the mega-project *City Nord* (ibid: 146). A land plot not yet reconceptualised after the war destructions was selected for

---

<sup>3</sup> see section 4.3



the consolidation of both municipal and commercial office buildings. In retrospect, the elaborate project, the individual buildings of which had come out of architecture competitions, suffered from the typical blandness of monotonous office and technology parks. The very few residential blocks added to the new district could not prevent it from becoming inanimate beyond the rush hours when workers were arriving and leaving. A new lively 'City' as presaged by planners, was never achieved (ibid: 147-48).

A major success toward the provision of affordable housing for many was achieved in the 1970s with several large scale housing estates developed for up to 24,000 inhabitants (ibid: 165) on the urban fringe. They shared in common their construction by only a few housing associations and stock of purely council or 'social' housing (*sozialer Wohnungsbau*) (ibid: 163). In Hamburg like in other cities, these satellite towns have over time lost in appeal. Since the 1980s, their initially broader spectrum of inhabitants became increasingly replaced by those living in precarious situations, such as immigrants, the poor and the unemployed (ibid).

The pressing need for mass housing held out no adequate alternative to the high-rise housing estate; yet, the rediscovery of the principle of 'urban density' occasioned a design innovation in Hamburg's next grand project launched in 1965 for the neighbourhood *Steilshoop* (ibid 163-5). In parallel to the 1920s, the scheme of rectangular perimeter blocks with large inner courtyards was applied here, with the idea of creating pleasant, green and semi-public spaces that foster community interaction. The unduly large scale of Steilshoop, that would just not create the kind of intimacy of the perimeter block, was only recognised in retrospect. Yet, the comparatively spacious flats, a stronger variation in architecture and tenancy forms than in the previous new estates (allowing for single family houses and terraces), have earned new neighbourhoods like Steilshoop a far better acceptance by Hamburg's residents than its forerunners. (ibid: 165-68).

#### 4.4.4 Attempts at 'careful urban renewal' and the protection of neighbourhoods

In Hamburg, repercussions of 1960s student protests were articulated in its neighbourhood movements (e.g. Ley 1996: 222-267). In chapter 4.3 I noted how Germany's squatters' movement emerged in Kreuzberg, Berlin, from the unease about an 'urban sanitation' policy that cleared entire areas of their old buildings stock for making space for more profitable development. In this vein, the first occupations of housing blocks in Hamburg in 1973 were part of a protest against an untamed private housing market governed by profitability rather than adequate provision (Kähler *ibid*: 161). While the squatters were initially met with disapproval, the police militancy exerted against them and the severity of their subsequent convictions raised wider sympathy in Hamburg for their case. After all, the squatters unveiled a practice commonly adopted by property owners: blocks were deliberately kept vacant over time, while there was permanently a shortage in urban housing. From a certain state of disrepair the buildings would legally qualify for demolition and award their owners with an empty parcel for re-designation.

From 1981, a section along the harbour front of St. Pauli, the neighbourhood notorious for its red-light district and night time economy, developed into the hotspot of a housing dispute (*ibid*). Eight historical blocks had been occupied in *Hafenstrasse* ('Harbour Street'), a street name that over the 1980s became synonymous for squatters' resistance against repeated attempts of police eviction (*ibid*: 161). The occupants achieved partial success when mayor Dohnanyi intervened as a mediator. Their final triumph came in 1995 with contracts the municipality managed to wrest from the landlords (*ibid*). These tenancy contracts secured the occupants a regular right to stay. They also enabled the cost-controlled renovation of the buildings by their meanwhile legalised tenants, and an infill of vacant plots between the buildings with social housing. The activists' catchy graffiti slogans and images were not removed by the city from the building facades but today form an integral part of the Hamburg tourist route (*ibid*: 162).

While *Hafenstrasse* possibly figures as one of the rare success stories for housing preservation *without* displacement, the question is, how Hamburg's development policy generally proceeded with the bulk of extant inner-city housing

stock. I briefly addressed how since the 1970s, attempts across Germany at 'careful urban renewal' - while undertaken in good faith - could not prevent increases in rent levels displacing the poorest. Jens Dangschat (1988) has displayed how almost all inner city districts around the Old and New Town have undergone gentrification as a result of a combination of private investment and urban sanitation programmes led by the public sector. St. Pauli, the quarter traditionally associated with edginess due to its amusement and red-light area, has become increasingly popular among students from the early 1980s (Dangschat *ibid*: 73). Exactly its appeal of 'roughness' has perhaps at the same time deterred a more established bourgeoisie from moving along in notable numbers. The area has in this vein managed to preserve a mix of building qualities and households, although pockets within it have been modernised and increased in rent prices.

Karlinenviertel, a small sub-district tucked away between the slaughter house area and the exhibition halls, was similarly in a dilapidated state in the 1980s. Speculation has been swaying back and forth in the district since the 1960s. Those resisting it have achieved some degree of success by enforcing new forms of collective ownership protecting residential milieus (linkfang 2015). St. Georg, renowned as the less hip and socially more burdened version of neighbourhood St. Pauli, has defied wholesale gentrification by dint of a rather resilient prostitution and drug scene. In some sections, there has been upgrading of the turn-of-the-century housing stock through both public and private investment. Yet, the districts' image of seediness, its adjacency to a social housing estate and drug-counselling services nearby, have prevented renovation to get fully under way and secured a socially more mixed clientele (Dangschat *ibid*).

#### **4.4.5 Hamburg's return to the waterfront**

Re-attention to Hamburg's old centre began with the idea to make it re-accessible and inviting for Hamburg's inhabitants after its decade-long devotion to tertiary office use. A start was made in 1980 with banning motorised traffic from the town hall square and converting its immediate surroundings into pedestrian areas

(Kähler 2010: 174-5). Entire blocks became accessible for the first time through an interlinked system of semi-public shopping arcades. While certainly this new attractiveness of the city was a calculated step to exploit its potential for commercialisation, a wider reaching step was the reassessment of the city's most delicate piece of land - the harbour. Already in 1973, the Senate had commissioned a study named *Bauen am Wasser* ('Building by the Water') (ibid: 177). Its report stressed that any sensible prospect for development by the water would need to consider the Elbe River in its entire course - ranging from the central harbour to the western city border. Riverside development was to become an integrator of surrounding neighbourhoods, instead of confining itself to eccentric projects in the affluent suburbs bordering the northern river bank (ibid: 178-9).

Concrete moves to include the harbour as such in urban development plans began with the *Speicherstadt*, the long stretch of classicist brownstone warehouse blocks (Kähler 2010: 194-5). As a storage complex, the Speicherstadt had already lost its significance to superior container ship technology over several decades. At the end of the 1980s, mayor Dohnanyi considered selling the underused warehouse complex to enable for offices and gastronomy to fill up its unused interiors (ibid: 187). A protest campaign was unleashed that proved successful with its circulation of stickers reading 'Save the Speicherstadt!': in 1991, the warehouses were put under monument protection (ibid: 187-8). Since then, the complex has continuously been switching its tenants. By the millennium term, it had become a host to the new economy, with media agents, fashion showrooms, dining places and a touristy mix of 'infotainment' and museums. It has in this vein changed in the originally foreseen sense, yet in a more state-controlled manner (ibid: 188).

The next step in redevelopment, that now also encroached on the actual docklands, was everything else than logical. The harbour had always been property administrated autonomously from the remaining city. Its access roads were guarded by customs officers who were entitled to inspect anyone entering the area for declarable goods. A re-designation of harbour premises favoured by the Senate accordingly always necessitated a prior conversion of ownership rights, that is, land purchase through the city. It had become clear that the Speicherstadt itself was sacrosanct. Yet, its front end had been destroyed in the war and never rebuilt, so that

a generous piece of land was available on the tip of one of its piers, the *Kehrwieder*. Building edifices for well-paying office clients was also favoured by mayor Dohnanyi's successor Voscherau (ibid: 195). Voscherau believed such a development would put pressure on the adjoining Speicherstadt to become occupied by more lucrative tenants than the carpet dealers and others temporarily enjoying rents very much below market level. After all, low rents meant the payment of only low property taxes - one of the city's most if not *the* most important income source. Consequently, the land capacities were fully used for constructing the 'Hanseatic Trade Center'. In its brownstone design, this trade office complex aimed to blend in seamlessly with the adjacent Speicherstadt. It immediately earned criticism for its alleged blandness in such an exposed location (ibid). As a solitaire it would however not grab attention for long, since within a few years time plans for Hamburg's far most elaborate project took on shape.

Legendary is the astonishment about mayor Voscherau's announcement of ambitious development plans in a plenary session in 1997, which even surprised the members of the Citizenry (ibid: 195). Only a small number of officials had been privy to considerations for a project that had been titled *HafenCity*. The land foreseen for its realisation had been secretly bought up by the City over the years in order to prevent speculation and rise in land values (ibid: 196; Smith and Soledad Garcia Ferrari 2012: 101). It comprised two adjoining harbour islands 1.57 km<sup>2</sup> size, owned for the most part by the City, the National Railway Corporation, the National Financial Administration, and to a lesser extent by private firms (Bodemann 2002: 103). Since it was part of harbour territory that forbade other than port-related uses, it had to pass into full ownership of the City before any re-designation. According to pertinent academic reports, this land transfer appears to have occurred remarkably free of conflict (Bodemann 2002; Schubert 2007; Kähler 2010). Many of the old berthing sheds and workshops had been vacant since years or underused in the wake of accelerated shift from bulk cargo handling to container storage. In this vein, land acquisition was completed when old lease agreements expired and were not continued by the City (Schubert 2007: 372).

Before any fully-fledged plan concretised for the new district, the HafenCity area was temporarily suggested as a site for the Olympic Summer Games for which

Hamburg had applied. The local press could not conceal its consternation when in 2004, not Hamburg but German competitor Leipzig was shortlisted for the next application stage. As the event was not considered feasible within a reasonable time span, the ideas for Olympic Games were shelved (Kähler 2010: 201-2). In the meantime, since 2002, the two islands cleared for the HafenCity project had turned into a popular recreational gathering area by the water, drawing together sun bathers and people barbecuing alike. The vast piece of land also offered itself for a variety of experimental uses. Artists spontaneously occupied the dredged sand dunes for impromptu drama performances, music events, and open air discussions on the significance of a changing harbour environment (ready2capture). They took the opportunity to engage with the intermediate stage of an urban site in transition, which for them was not just a vacuum to be filled. It was a place rich in history with its own qualities to be explored. Before going deeper into HafenCity's planning story, Hamburg's change of government in the new millennium needs to be discussed in light of its far reaching consequences for urban development policy.



Image 4.1

The 1.57 km<sup>2</sup> planning area of HafenCity. Adjoining it on its north-western edge is Hamburg's historical core: the Old Town and the New Town, visibly demarked by the ring road. Reaching into the Old Town from the north is the dark, pond-shaped Alster River.  
(Source: Fotofrizz; HafenCity Hamburg GmbH)

#### 4.4.6 A conservative Senate and its 'Growing City' agenda

Strongly associated with the 10-year governance period of the Christian Democrats is their far-reaching civic boosterism campaign launched in 2001 under the catchphrase 'Metropolis Hamburg - Growing City' (*Metropole Hamburg - Wachsende Stadt*) (Kähler *ibid*: 185). As Hamburg revealed at the time, urban shrinkage is not necessarily a symptom of economic decline. A study revealed that Hamburg was a typical case of suburbanization. The net decline from a post-war population of almost 1.9 million to 1.6 million people at the end of the nineties had primarily been a loss of people to the periphery (Schubert 2001: 13). The majority of

those who had left maintained their old work place within the city by commuting. Hamburg's 'Growing City' agenda was informed by the vision to sustain a moderately thriving economy, the potentials of which had not been fully tapped. Hamburg was forecasted to be continually growing in population (mainly through migration from Eastern Germany) as well as jobs. This process the city administrators wished to actively support in keeping Hamburg 'liveable', 'competitive' and 'sustainable' (Gedaschko 2007: 6).

White papers released by the Senate on the 'Growing City' scenario reveal that a desired increase in Hamburg's population was associated with farther reaching goals toward economic viability. A key intention of urban development for Hamburg was thus to move beyond the German scale and measure up to metropolises at an international level:

The goal of the Senate is to again turn Hamburg into a growing and pulsating metropolis through a boost in development. Hamburg shall thereby not rest on the laurels of its leading position in Germany. Dynamic metropolises like Copenhagen, Barcelona, Vienna or also Seattle and Toronto are the standard against which the city must be measured (City of Hamburg 2002).

Under Christian Democratic rule, the *Authority for Urban Development and Environment* ('Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt') strongly enhanced its profile from an administrator working in the background to an entrepreneurial actor (Hamburg 2006: 16-17). Its policy of proactive urban boosterism echoing Harvey's (1989) entrepreneurial city entails the inception and coordination of far-reaching development projects, as well as the publication of information brochures that elaborate on its fields of activity. It is not surprising that the planning authority allocates funds and sponsors people intending to build for their private use, if the house or flat complies with stipulated sustainability criteria (Hamburg *ibid*: 17).

The entrepreneurial spirit of the Christian-Democratic Senate became most prominent in a self-marketing strategy launched for Hamburg that remains unrivalled by any other German city (Thiede 2008). In 2004, the Senate founded a marketing agency concentrating exclusively on selling *Die Marke Hamburg* – 'The Brand Hamburg'. Municipally owned companies like the airport ltd., tourism board and the exhibition halls collaborated under this banner to internationally boost the image of



the city. Besides the inflation of labels with which Hamburg is referred to in marketing brochures – 'Gate to the World', (Walter 2007: 8) or 'Metropolis of Culture' (taz 2010), the largest German and Austrian subscription papers appear with the quarterly supplement 'Hamburg', a portrayal of celebrities and specialities through which the city is celebrating itself (h-a 2015). In this regard Hamburg appears almost as a caricature of inter-urban competition in a time where cities have recaptured their role as lead economic settings and actors.

In late 2009, *die Marke Hamburg* came under vigorous attack for its evident complicity in state-led gentrification (Briegleb 2009b; Rauterberg 2009). Initially, alarm was triggered by the plans of a Dutch investment consortium. It had bought up an ensemble of run-down, municipally owned lodges tucked away in the Old Town between modern glass and steel towers. The cluster of small-scale buildings reaching back into the 17th century, the so called *Gängeviertel*, was one of the few testimonies to Hamburg's inhospitable living conditions of the past. The consortium was on the verge of replacing it with luxury residencies blending in with the corporate surrounding. Around 200 artists occupied the handful of buildings that had until recently secured many of their ilk a cheap work space (Oehmke 2010). Media resonance siding with the artists' cause and support from local celebrities hailed in a turning point on behalf of heritage protection and affordable space: Overwhelmed by the persistence of the campaign, the property consortium thwarted its plans and resold the building ensemble back to the City. An arrangement was made that put the ensemble under monument protection and largely restored the status quo. The buildings were rededicated to cultural and congregational uses at a low rent level, while its users and the City agreed to cooperatively work out a tenable, long-term use concept (spiegel.de 2010).

The repercussions of the conflict around *Gängeviertel* became evident in a more fundamental public debate on gentrification and its impacts on Hamburg's living quality. A manifesto titled 'Not in our Name' published online by a group assembling around local rock musician and film director Rocko Schamoni was picked up and released by various news papers (Briegleb 2009b: 13; Oehmke 2010). Eventually signed by more than 1000 local supporters, the statement was an attack on the 'Brand Hamburg'. For Hamburg's less established artists the banner was

synonymous for the City's market-liberal exploitation of the arts sector for commercial profitability. In its blatant advertising of Hamburg as a hotspot for agents of the creative economy, the Senate was evidently heeding economist Richard Florida's doctrines on making cities competitive for the future (Florida 2002; 2004). The manifesto's overtone was that the City was not supporting artists but instrumentalising them as a stage prop for showcasing Hamburg's upmarket residential areas and shopping boulevards. 'Culture', as it was boldly phrased, was to be 'an ornament for turbo-gentrification' (NION 2010: 324).

Significant for this thesis was that Hamburg's currently largest under-construction development was also among the targets of criticism. Artists whom the City was trying to lure into its newly completed ground floor spaces in HafenCity at reduced rents frowned upon letting themselves be used as baits for the attraction of big money (ibid). In light of the continuous cutbacks on funds for culture, and Hamburg's social housing forecasted to be shrinking to half of its amount within ten years, this alleged goodwill appeared hypocritical. The manifesto's closing remark foreshadowed the upcoming launch of a city-wide grass root network devoted to critical resistance to gentrification: 'We claim our right to the city together with all the residents of Hamburg who refuse to be a location factor' (NION 2010: 325).

In combination, the Gängeviertel struggle and Not in our Name had groundbreaking reverberations in Hamburg's development policy. A reorientation from top-down rationality to a more dialogic relationship to citizens expressed itself already in the Senate's consent to protect the status of the Gängeviertel for its occupants. Such benevolence did not have much in common with the police squads and water guns of the 1980s squatters' struggle in Hafenstrasse. For decades, sale of municipal land to builders had indeed been dictated by the finance authority managing all city-owned assets. Its principle of selling to the highest bidders had fostered the proliferation of standardised investment-driven architecture in not just a few inner-city spots (Rauterberg 2009). A statement of mayor Ole von Beust in Germany's weekly *Die Zeit* on the collaborative reconception of Gängeviertel indicated that a paradigm change was indeed on the rise: 'I find the idea to leave a land plot as it is without any concrete plans fascinating,' further adding that he could imagine the scenario of 'creating an artistic nucleus without prescribing it too artificially' (ibid). The concerns

of the artists, or moreover citizens at large, who depended on affordable housing, were apparently being taken serious by Hamburg's government. The irony is that exactly through their consensus with city officials, artists may have inadvertently made themselves into the puppets of city politics they had been combating. As Oehmke (2010) states aptly in his article, collaboration with those one was originally opposing does bare the risk of becoming coopted:

now members of that very creative class have come to Hamburg of their own accord, in the form of 200 artists right in the middle of the city. Rather than an inconvenience, the mass squatting was a stroke of luck for city officials.

An outcome of the Gängeviertel-struggle and Not in our Name was the formation of *Recht auf Stadt* ('Right to the City'<sup>4</sup>) - a network that loosely connected people from various occupational backgrounds and the broader left-winged spectrum (Briegleb 2009b: 13; Rauterberg 2009). Spearheaded by activists from the far left, this discussion platform attracted artists and critical intellectuals, as much as tenants fighting speculation, and allotment gardeners. What united them in discussion meetings, interactive blogs and public hearings with city officials was their commitment to preserve Hamburg as a city for the benefit of people, not capital. It was appreciable to see how readily Hamburg's senators and city officials were now joining panel discussions with citizens that had led the recent protests (Briegleb 2009b: 13). This departure from a traditionally very profit-oriented development policy would also impact on the development policy for HafenCity from a certain stage. This point will be dealt with in detail in the chapter on the project's official policy.

In the meantime, the Senate had drawn consequences from Hamburg's unsuccessful Olympic Games candidature. Urban development was once more re-emphasized as a top priority. The derelict dockland areas spreading out southward from the city centre bore an enormous potential in this respect for bold visions. Owed to the initiative of Jörn Walter, the new aspiring general building director since 1999,

---

<sup>4</sup> In congenial reference to Henri Lefebvre's famous critical urban study *Le Droit à la ville* published originally in French in 1968.

Hamburg's southward development underwent a boost (Kähler 2009: 2003). His consequent engagement toward the long-sought integration of the disadvantaged districts south of the Elbe with the remaining city became prominent under the name *Sprung über die Elbe* (Leap across the Elbe) (ibid: 2002-3). The three adjoining districts Veddel, Wilhelmsburg and Harburg add up to approximately half of Hamburg's land mass, and have a tradition of economic weakness and poverty. For many Hamburg residents they are a terra incognita in their sense of the city. The guiding objective of 'Sprung über die Elbe' was to make the districts attractive for investments and residents in order to align their living standard to that of the remainder of Hamburg. The ambitious programme became synonymic for a myriad of loosely connected projects implemented over the next years with the aim to boost the attractiveness of the districts. It was unique in so far, that rather than specifying a fixed outcome, it described an open-ended process of urban innovation that allowed for a broad scale of experiments. So far, there have been exhibitions, employment and educational programmes led by institutions as well as volunteers .



## Figure 4.1    **Timeline HafenCity: the evolvement of a new downtown**

<b>Mid nineteen-eighties</b>	<p>The City of Hamburg embarks on a planning scenario that puts the focus of urban development on the environs of the Elbe River.</p> <p>Conferences on urban building - 'Bauforen' conducted on an international scale invite planner teams to develop ideas and concepts for the conversion of the northern Elbe banks. (Bodemann 2002: 102-3; Kähler 2009: 192)</p>
<b>1989</b>	<p>The annual Bauforum is hosted under the theme of converting the use of the <i>Grasbrook</i> - two industrially underused harbour islands. (ibid: 102)</p>
<b>early 90s</b>	<p>A large harbour area of 155 hectares is foreseeable to become derelict: between Kehrwieterspitze and Freihafenelbbrücken, Speicherstadt and Norderelbe (ibid: 103)</p>
<b>1997    May</b>	<p>After assessing the scope for a conflict-free conversion of the area, the Senate and parliament decide on the abandonment of harbour use and re-designation into a mixed-use, inner city district for living, culture, leisure and tourism, retail and trade. This decision is founded upon result of the urban planning development study 'Grasbrook-Baakenhafen'.</p> <p>Public and semi-public owners of the landmass: 70% municipality, 20% National Railway Corporation, 10% Federal Finance administration, and private firms. (Bodemann 2002: 102-3)</p>

### **Development agents**

Mayor Voscherau for the first time publicly presents the vision for reuse of the landmass and a rudimentary concept for 'HafenCity'. The City founds the development corporation '**Gesellschaft für Hafen- und Standortentwicklung**' (GHS) as a publicly owned but privately operating agent for buying up and developing the lots for building the HafenCity project  
(Schubert 2001: 372).

The bought up contiguous piece of land is consolidated in a public separate fund - *Stadt und Hafen (City and Harbour)*. The fund has the task to finance HafenCity's public infrastructure and access ways, and to provide financial contribution to the erection of a new container terminal in the neighbourhood Altenwerder (financing the terminal is soon shelved as an unfeasible goal).  
(Bodemann ibid: 100-4)

**early 1998** After a further preliminary assessment of the land bits owned by the Railway Corporation, the municipality and development corporation GHS agree on a working programme geared to a planning-developmental pre-conception (masterplan) until the end of 1998 and an urban development competition in 1999.  
(ibid: 104)

**1999/2000** The finalisation of the informal planning process is foreseen, with the Senate's decision for a masterplan that embodies the planning foundation for the urban development of HafenCity.

An **Urban development competition for ideas** is tendered by the City of Hamburg in cooperation with the GHS and the Railway Corporation's real-estate company (Deutsche Bahn Immobilien-gesellschaft) on an EU-wide scale, whereas US and Canadian applicants are also admitted.  
(ibid: 107-8)

**1999 April** From the 175 applications, 8 teams are shortlisted for participation by an independent jury comprising planners, architects, landscape architects, traffic planners, engineers and economists  
(ibid).

First prize: Christiaanse, ASTOC, Rotterdam/Cologne, awarded for the proposal '*The structured city*'  
(ibid: 108-9).

The jury recommends the tendering authority to admit the team awarded with the first prize to be included in the further elaboration of the masterplan (ibid: 108).

The planning area is subdivided into quarters and subareas. Individual typologies are designated for each individual quarter that still enable a relative flexible specification. The concept offers good preconditions for compactness and mixing  
(ibid: 109).

### Public involvement

Collaboratively with the award winners the Jury, City authorities and the GHS try to also include inspirations that emerge from the public discussions and events on the competition into the further preparations made for the masterplan (ibid: 113).

The 'structural concept' of the masterplan decided by the Senate reflects the core statements of the awarded work and its revision: the structuring of the area by quarters, the broad statements on the spatial distribution of uses, the marking of locations with special significance, the defining features of the green area concept, the organisation of the accessibility, and the connection with the existing city. (ibid: 113-15)

- |      |       |  |
|------|-------|--|
| 2000 | Dec   | The public <b>information centre at Kesselhaus</b> is opened. It hosts regular presentations and discussions and a miniature wood model of HafenCity's state of development. |
| 2001 | April | Building works begin.  |
| 2003 | Feb   | <b>Jürgen-Bruns Berentelg</b> becomes CEO of the city-owned development corporation.   |

A series of policy innovations are introduced under his management such as the **concept specification**: real-estate plots are sold at fixed prices rather than by highest bid to encourage diversification of landownership and tenure. Comprehensive programmes for public information and consultation are also introduced ([www.hafencity.com/de/chronik-der-hafencity.html](http://www.hafencity.com/de/chronik-der-hafencity.html)).

- |      |     |   |
|------|-----|---|
| 2004 | Feb | HafenCity's development corporation GHS is converted into <b><i>HafenCity Hamburg GmbH</i></b> , still municipally owned, but run as a limited company. |
|------|-----|---|

Upon completion of HafenCity at the envisaged date of 2025, HafenCity Hamburg GmbH will withdraw and the new community will attain the status of a regular district administrated by the City of Hamburg ([www.hafencity.com/de/chronik-der-hafencity.html](http://www.hafencity.com/de/chronik-der-hafencity.html)).

- |      |     |  |
|------|-----|--|
| 2004 | Nov | The first <b>HafenCity Newsletter</b> is issued by the development corporation. The first issue contextualises HafenCity within Hamburg's 'Growing City' Scenario. |
|------|-----|--|



2004	Dec	The Pastor of adjoining St. Katharinen Parish launches a series of events that included public discussion panels on the reconciliation of career, family, and child care. Nascent HafenCity is at the focus of attention.
2004	Dec	The first resident moves in. The development corporation celebrates the event through a press conference held at his flat.
2006	Jan	Among the first residents, a protest campaign forms against HafenCity's policy of traffic development.
2006	June	<b>HafenCity Speaker's Corner</b> , a neighbourhood online-forum is launched by residents.
2006	Sep	<b>The first housing cooperative</b> built in HafenCity, named <i>Baugenossenschaft Bergedorf-Bille</i> , hosts social get-togethers for familiarising incoming HafenCity residents with each other.
2007	Jan	HafenCity CEO Bruns-Berentelg commissions Dr. Menzl, a sociologist from Hamburg's Technical University, to undertake a <b>post-occupancy study on HafenCity's residents</b> .
2007	May	Inspired by the findings of the study, sociologist Menzl is employed by the development corporation as a <b>neighbourhood ombudsman</b> . As a spokesperson for residents and other HafenCity civil agents, Menzl's focus of attention wanders with the individual land plots emerging in consecutive stages.
2007	June	A resident running a marketing agency in HafenCity founds two organisations: <b>HafenCity Businessport</b> - a support agency for boosting local retailers and start-up businesses, and <b>HafenCity Merchandise</b> , a souvenir shop selling HafenCity-related items.
2007	Oct	Residents form a <b>monthly dinner group</b> .
2007	Nov	A resident launches the online neighbourhood gazette <b>HafenCity News</b> , complemented some months later by its print version <b>HafenCity Zeitung</b> .
2007	Nov	A <b>voluntary sports club</b> named <b>Störtebeker e. V.</b> is founded by residents and volunteers from outside HafenCity.
2007	Dec	The first <b>residents' welcome festival</b> is organised by Menzl in cooperation with the pastor of nearby Katharinen Church.
2008	Mar	The <b>Ecumenical Forum Brücke</b> is established in HafenCity with an own building. Before the building is ready, a provisional chapel is erected in collaboration with a volunteering resident.

<b>2008</b>	<b>Mar</b>	The <b>symposium 'Planning Urbanity – Life, Work, Space in the New Downtown'</b> is hosted in HafenCity.
<b>2008</b>	<b>May</b>	The <b>Spielhaus association</b> - providing a cabin for children's leisure activities - is co-founded by Menzl and local parents, following their invitation by the development corporation to participate in the design of a playground.
<b>2008</b>	<b>June</b>	Residents organise a <b>flea market</b> that is annually repeated on the waterfront promenade.
<b>2008</b>	<b>Nov</b>	At its bi-annual information meeting for residents, the development corporation suggests the establishment of a <b>neighbourhood advisory board</b> .
<b>2008</b>	<b>Dec</b>	The <b>provisional chapel</b> built by the Ecumenical Forum opens its doors to the public.
<b>2009</b>	<b>Jan</b>	The first brainstorm sessions for establishing a <b>HafenCity advisory board</b> are held at the common room of the Bergedorf-Bille Cooperative.
<b>2009</b>	<b>Aug</b>	The three-tiered primary school <b>Katharinenschule</b> , that includes a kindergarten, opens its doors in HafenCity.
<b>2009</b>	<b>Oct</b>	<b>HafenCity Zeitung</b> is founded as a more elaborate print version of the voluntary gazette HafenCity News.
<b>2010</b>	<b>Jan</b>	The new neighbourhood advisory board is festively inaugurated and officially titled <b>Netzwerk HafenCity</b> .
<b>2010</b>	<b>Sep</b>	A <b>retail task force</b> for supporting HafenCity's struggling ground-floor businesses is founded jointly by Menzl and volunteering residents.
<b>2011</b>	<b>Mar</b>	The <b>retail task force</b> hosts an event with workshops for local store and restaurant owners.
<b>2014</b>	<b>Feb</b>	The newly founded <b>HafenCity University</b> moves into its new headquarters completed in HafenCity (hcu-hamburg.de).



## 4.5 The planning framework for HafenCity

### 4.5.1 High quality land development through public control

Hamburg's various riverside projects were made possible with the relocation of port activity further westward on the Elbe, away from the old centrally located docks that had become too confined for increasingly larger container ships. While *Sprung über die Elbe* is an open-ended, long term scenario not prescribed by a concrete programme, HafenCity is an integrated, expansive district that would profoundly change the face of Hamburg's central harbour section. Early international attention was guaranteed by a conspicuous 'light-house' project envisaged on the tip of one of the development site's three finger piers. Until 2001, four years after the idea for HafenCity had been announced, a 'media-port' had been foreseen to be built onto this end piece. The burst of the new economy bubble thwarted the plans and left the Senate somewhat undecided on how to proceed (Meyhöfer 2009: 267). It would need the proposal of a group of private investors for a strikingly iconic building to convince the city government and a broader public in 2003 (Kähler *ibid*: 200). Offering to take over a large part of the financing, this group presented a computer animation designed by the Swiss architecture office Herzog & DeMeuron that had been asked to provide the outline for a new philharmonic hall (Schubert 2002: 374). The coup was that a still existing, trapezoid cocoa warehouse would form the mighty brick stone base of the new building. It would be vertically extended by an eccentric glass tower ending in a waved roof. Images of the new hall of 110 meters height were reminiscent of a ship with hoisted sails. The visionary music hall was soon celebrated as an eye catcher that would once assume trade mark status for Hamburg in the way a new opera hall had done for Sydney<sup>5</sup> (Meyhöfer *ibid*).

---

<sup>5</sup> As a side note: during its construction the building gained reputation as one of the biggest public planning fiascos in contemporary Germany. Unforeseen complications in the realisation, particularly with the music room equipped with cutting edge acoustic technology, led to endless argumentation on construction details between the municipality, the building contractor and the architects. The repeated delay of works postponed the originally envisioned completion date from 2010 to early 2017, and led to an explosion of the public share once stipulated at 77 million, to 789 million Euros - a more than tenfold increase! (SZ 2013).

Particular about HafenCity is its designation as a new downtown that is not secluded but forms an expansion to the existing city centre. By the end of its estimated development period of 25 years, HafenCity will have extended the area of the central city by 40% (Dziomba 2012: 123). Given the planning site's adjacency to Hamburg's Old and New Town, the ambition is to create a district that will reanimate the centre as a residentially attractive area. I mentioned the decade-long trend to monotonous office concentration, spurred substantially by the higher rents offices yield for investors in comparison to housing (Meyhöfer 2009: 198). Besides 45,000 new jobs in retail, office work, gastronomy, education, culture and social services, HafenCity was envisioned to provide 5,800 flats for up to 12,000 people. The current downtown population of 14,000 people (Breckner and Menzl 2012: 133; Bruns-Berentelg; Walter and Meyhöfer 2012: 15) would almost double.

There was consensus among city officials that a neighbourhood in such a prominent area would need meticulous preparation if it was to unfold residential dynamics also in the adjacent Old and New Town. The dull City Nord from the 1960s was a warning example. Regarding waterfront redevelopment, the London Docklands exemplified how not to proceed. Its (original) lack of a guiding development concept in favour of market forces had paved the way for miscalculated overproduction of office space that necessitated corrective retrofitting (Kähler *ibid*: 197-8; Dörting 2008: 72). It was clear then, that beyond providing areas for enterprises yearning to open new branches in the city centre, major attention would be given to housing in the new neighbourhood. In line with this conviction, a design competition for a HafenCity urban development plan was run in 1999. The award went jointly to the Dutch and German planning offices Kees Christiaanse & Planners (Rotterdam) and ASTOC Architects and Planners (Cologne) (Bodemann 2002: 13-4). The details of the development plan were overworked jointly by the offices and the Senate to bring forth the key framework that broadly prescribes the envisaged physical character of the new district: the *HafenCity Masterplan*, adopted by the Senate in 2000 (*ibid*: 2002: 113-4).

In the tradition of Hamburg's general building directors, Jörn Walter was most influential in defining a generic design code for HafenCity. Walter did not highly regard open and loose building structures but advocated the traditional

European city with perimeter development (Meyhöfer 2009: 257, 261) - a principle consistently applied in the sections completed so far. For aesthetic reasons, care was also taken that building heights were aligned to those of the old housing stock in the city centre (Hampel 2007: 59). The only aberration allowed, as an accent added to Hamburg's historical skyline, was the new philharmonic *Elbphilharmonie* (Walter 2012: 13-14).

Noteworthy is the corporate approach the Senate chose in order to de-bureaucratise the development process. It facilitates HafenCity' development by releasing the authority for urban development from obligations, without simultaneously stripping it from its control capacities. These capacities include its competency to issue building permits. The development of HafenCity is processed through *HafenCity Hamburg GmbH* founded by the Senate in 2004 as a city-owned limited corporation, a quango<sup>6</sup> (Dziomba 2012: 123). It is endowed with considerable leeway in its procedure of land parcel development, while remaining accountable to the urban development authority as the agent with the final say. The *HCH*, the short form I will be using for the corporation, is responsible for tendering, marketing and the sale of land parcels to builders. For this purpose the HafenCity territory was consolidated in the special fund *Stadt und Hafen* ('City and Harbour') (Bodemann 2002: 103). Through land sale, this fund is converted into capital used for setting up the public infrastructure for the new district, such as roads, subway stations and educational services. This way the city's share of investments into HafenCity is financed entirely decoupled from its tax base. A creative solution had to be found for a former industrial area that forbade residential use due to immediate exposure to ebb and flow. Surrounding the area with dikes was an aesthetic no-go that would moreover have obstructed the water vista as a key specialty of the project. The very complex (and costly) solution chosen was to elevate the entire ground level onto artificial mounds of flood-secure 7,50 meters height above sea level (HafenCity 2006: 74-75).

Some of the HafenCity masterplan's core messages chime in with contemporarily popular trends in urbanism. Rather than an exactly spelt-out land-use plan, it claims to be a more loose 'strategy paper' that formulates development

---

<sup>6</sup> quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation

concepts (Meyhöfer 2012: 35). In this generic framework, the high quality urban environment that is envisaged is reminiscent of the pre-modernist downtown not yet dominated by tertiary business use and motorised traffic. It advocates principles from the teachings of New Urbanism, which in turn are heavily influenced by the path breaking work of urbanist Jane Jacobs (1961). Among these are high-density and diversity of buildings, and human-scale street layouts that encourage sidewalk interaction. In HafenCity's planning specifications, this kind of urbanity was articulated as the application of a 'finely tuned mix of uses' (HafenCity 2006: 5): a high variation in building uses, designs and tenancy models on a small spatial scale, and ground floors that are to be kept publicly accessible through gastronomy, retail and community services. Dwelling is thereby defined as a key function that is to re-establish the inner city as a residential site.

#### **4.5.2 The aspect of social class in a residential project**

While HafenCity's development strategy is arguably committed to diversification of uses, it remains unclear as to how far these would also cater to the contrasting needs of urban inhabitants. The prospect of a mix of uses recurs in several places of the masterplan, whereas the commitment to a mix of social groups is not explicitly made. Reference to social diversity is to some extent made in the document and in various other written statements on the HafenCity website run by the HCH. This hardly goes beyond the categories of age or marital status, ignoring dimensions relevant for societal participation such as educational status, income, or ethnicity. The masterplan, for instance, creates a vague connection between land-use mix and ostensible social benefits generated thereof: 'In order to respond to a diversifying and increasingly demand-driven housing market, a wide range of demographic groups and a variety of individual lifestyles will be catered for' (ibid: 55). In a similar tone, the HCH on its website describes the planned neighbourhood as one where different 'milieus, lifestyles and interests' intersect (HCH b). In its objectives, the HCH evidently deals with social diversity in a horizontal sense,

whereas its vertical dimensions of inequality based on social class are missing. This finding needs to be reflected in the wider context of perceptions of class in Germany.

Unlike Anglophone countries, *class* as a social descriptor has been on the decline since the 1960s in German academic and popular writings. It has practically been replaced by the term *Schicht*, denoting social 'layer' or 'stratum' (Burzan 2007: 65). The term is stripped of core assumptions of Marxist class theory defined around unequal access to the means of economic production (ibid: 26-7). Yet, it maintains the understanding of an unequal distribution of resources in society that decide over an individual's position and derived chances of participation, as well as their mobility. An individual's social position is generally being defined by three central features that also influence each other co-dependently: educational level, profession, and income. The general abandonment of the term *class* is rooted in observations of an enduring phase of economic upswing in post-war Germany. Steadily rising employment rates and incremental salary increases for a majority, combined with extensive welfare state provisions, had enabled a certain degree of convergence of working class with bourgeoisie living standards. By the same token, characterisations of Germany as a 'levelled middle class society' without class structures coming from conservative sociologist Schelsky (1979: 328, 336, as cited in Geissler 2014: 96) were quickly criticised as premature and untenable exaggerations by colleagues (Dahrendorf 1965: 148, as cited in Geissler 2014: 97). I concur with Geissler (ibid) that Schelsky's idea at least correctly grasps an empiric trend lasting over a roughly three-decade period in Germany that came to a halt with the repercussions of the 1970s global recession: a broadening of the middle class proportions within the socially stratified population, with a respective rise in socio-material standing of less educated cohorts, consumption opportunities and a degree of alignment to middle class attitudes. This trend could however not belie that pronounced social inequality continued to exist. Social advancement and chances of personal unfolding remain connected to the relative access to education and income (ibid).

At a closer look, there is substantial correspondence in the contemporary notion of *class* common to Anglophone writing and the German term *stratum* (*Schicht*). Similar to perspectives on class, *Schicht* combines a set of socially constitutive dimensions, most prominently an individual's skills and certifications,



their social origin, and the associated attention received in form of prestige and other forms of recognition (ibid: 102). 'Class' equally no longer implies a rigid, dualistic antagonism between capital and labour but acknowledges that a pluralisation of social groups has occurred in line with the growth and differentiation of the tertiary economic sector (see for example Savage 2000). In this vein it appears that both terms are conceptually reconcilable. This applies notwithstanding the observation that in the Anglo-American world, class inequalities continue to be sharper than in Germany or other European countries with strong welfare state traditions. For the analysis of an almost invariably middle class resident population at stake in this work, no gain would be received from a theoretical squabble over the degree of precision or validity of the terms. Whenever I speak of 'class', I accordingly treat it as interchangeable in meaning with the German *Schicht*.

Next to class and stratum, the concept of *milieu* has undergone a revival since the 1980s in German social science, not least due to its appropriation and analytical enhancement by market researchers (Burzan 2007: 103; Geissler 2014: 114). The milieu takes into account the entirety of social and environmental influences to which individuals are exposed, commonly within shared physical settings, and according to which they develop similar mentalities and behavioural patterns. There are some overlaps between the concept of milieu and that of class originating with Bourdieu (1984) I touched upon earlier. In line with Bourdieu's theory of practice, values and taste preferences predispose members of a milieu to particular life styles. Lifestyles are routinised forms of expressive behaviour and consumption which are confirmed and stabilised in regular interactions with likeminded others (Geissler ibid: 110).

Even though class and milieu share in common the relevance of socio-economic circumstances, for milieus, these 'objective' conditions shape individuals less deterministically. Rather, similar socio-economic conditions are 'filtered' in differential ways by individuals (Burzan ibid: 104), in variation with the peer groups, networks and associations in which they participate. Essentially, milieus illustrate a consequence of decreasing socio-economic polarisation within highly-industrialised societies, where class boundaries have become less overtly recognisable. When identities are formed less along class lines, individuals more consciously seek forms

of expression and communities through which they can distinguish themselves from a crowd. Those with the same degree of education and similar level of wealth may be members to different milieus, so that several milieus, each with their own sets of orientations and mentalities, co-exist within the same social class (Geissler *ibid* 114-17).

Figure 1.1 pictures the model of social milieus in Germany as developed by the SINUS-Institute and referred to by many social scientists (Meulemann 1996; Hradil 2001; Burzan 2007; Geissler 2014). It illustrates that milieu boundaries overlap and are more fluent than those between social strata and that a milieu may also span more than one stratum (Burzan *ibid*: 104; Geissler *ibid*: 116). This English version was translated by market researchers HML Marketing ([hml-modernmarketing.de](http://hml-modernmarketing.de)). Not all labels used however adequately reflect the German original. I see it as appropriate to make a few comments and add in the details that more authentically reflect the richness of the original.

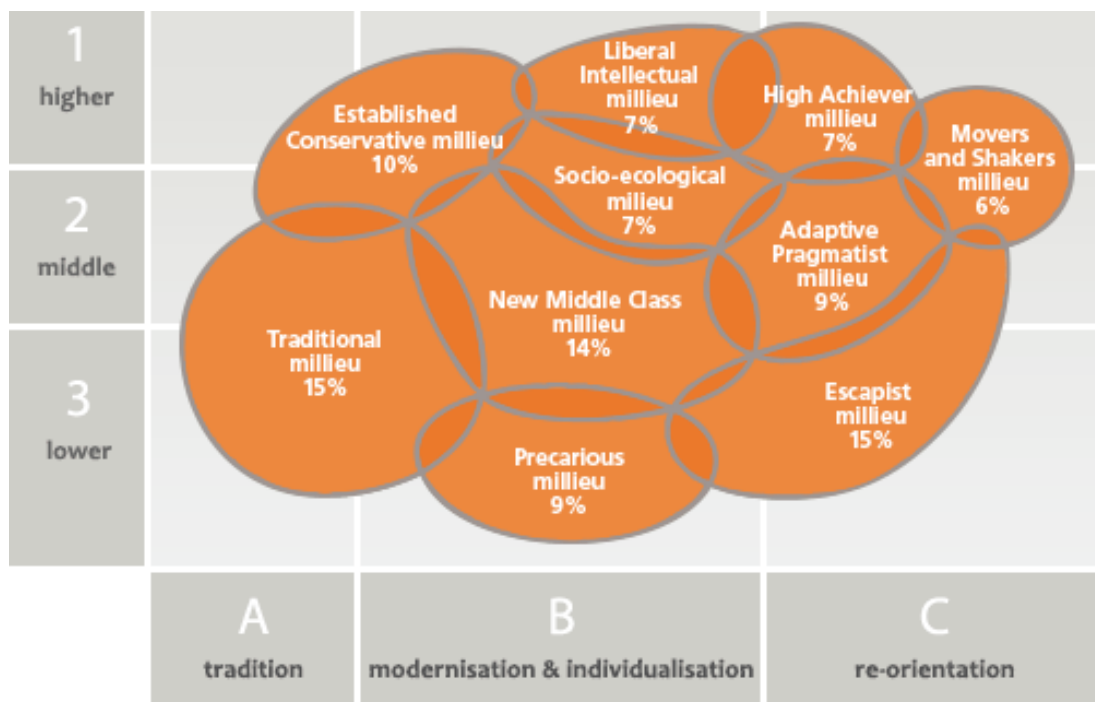


Figure 4.2 SINUS social milieus in Germany 2012 (translated version by HML Modemarketing).

In the German version, the vertical axis of the model denotes *social stratus*, while the horizontal one *mental orientations*, respectively. The stratus are also more finely varied within: category 1 - 'higher', ought to instead be labelled 'higher and higher *middle* stratum'. Category 2 - 'middle', remains the same. Category 3 - 'lower', should read 'lower *middle* and lower stratum'. Regarding the 10 bubbles illustrating the individual milieus, the 'New Middle Class' is more accurately translated from German as the *bourgeois middle class*. I illustrated in the literature review that *New Middle Class* is as an established term in Anglophone social science that entails a combination of social criteria not grasped in the milieu model.

The English version above is also missing some additions made to the orientations A, B and C in the original: If an individual's orientation is *tradition* (A), they tend to be 'rooted' - they are inclined to maintain and preserve. Category B is a hybrid orientation, oscillating between *modernisation* and *individualisation*. *Modernisation* describes individuals oriented to material comfort and enjoyment of life, possession and status. *Individualisation*, by contrast, denotes stronger orientation to post-materialist values: self-realization, emancipation, and authenticity. Group C, *re-orientation*, describes individuals who are the least settled: They advocate activeness and the overcoming of limits. Dominant orientations are: multi-optionality, acceleration, pragmatism, exploration, refocusing, and new syntheses.

These descriptors do not all speak for themselves and it would certainly be appreciable to do some further theoretical unpacking on ambiguous concepts such as 'new syntheses.' Unfortunately, however, the milieu concept has not been developed far beyond this descriptive level. Its deeper theoretical discussion would transcend the scope of this work. Although Geissler (ibid: 114) notes, even though the concept of milieu has a long tradition that goes back to studies on particular geographical settings, the newer German Sociology has not moved beyond a shortened, somewhat culturally narrowed understanding derived from market research. It lacks the analytical depth of other theoretical frameworks derived from cultural sociology and geography. Due to its limited explanatory power I will instead draw on stratification theories which more clearly establish the connections between socio-economic conditions and everyday cultural practices. Central in this vein will be Bourdieu's theory of practice and its expansion by other scholars.

How then do terms such as life style and milieu used by the HafenCity development corporation in its publications relate to social inequality? The planning authorities have evidently borrowed from the toolkit of sociological terminology. Since by themselves, the terms however conceal their connections to social stratification schemes in which social theorists have grounded them, they are neutralised from any political content; the planners' rhetoric about 'difference' is confined to remain in compliance with the prospect of a manageable population forecasted to be inhabiting HafenCity. Chiming with this, the HCH's construal of mixed uses, that attunes very much to what Jane Jacobs (1961) had in mind as a recipe for urban neighbourhood 'health', is comparatively easily applicable in urban planning: whereas uses can to some extent be predefined physically (via building types) and legally (regulations), the social remains a foggy term. By allocating a variety of uses to a development project - commerce, culture, employment - the HCH testifies to a democratic and plural orientation that may discharge from accuses of having bypassed a broader spectrum of the population. The uses named in the HafenCity brochures, however, attend mainly to the demands of those cruising the city as part time consumers in form of shoppers or tourists. They hardly take into account demographic groups particularly in need of affordable homes, such as working-class households or single-parents.

In some ways, this omission of lower-income groups corresponds with a moral posture shining through in the 'Growing City' agenda. In a press release, the Senate makes it clear that *growth* is not envisioned as an end in itself (Kähler 2012: 12). Not merely quantitative economic expansion but qualitative improvement of Hamburg's leading economic sectors is at stake in order to sustain the city's international attractiveness. This is to be achieved by *smart growth*, through steering measures that flexibly adapt to changing economic and demographic situations. In a press release, the city's desire to shape Hamburg's demographic composition in a desired direction is undeniable:

Population growth can also lead to an increase in welfare recipients, child-raising allowance and housing benefit. Due to the target-group oriented strategy, the structure of residents will however change in so far,

that the fraction of these groups moving to Hamburg can be expected to be below average.  
(City of Hamburg 2002)

As Kähler (2012: 215) critically points out, there is an implicit selection bias as to groups that are courted to move along, against others who are put in the shade. This social prioritisation has wider reaching implications for measures the City is willing to undertake in housing development, particularly for those whose limited means are not served by the private market. In line with an overall trend in German cities, the amount of available social housing<sup>7</sup> has continuously diminished in Hamburg since the late 20th century (ibid: 210). This has to do with the expiry of the rent control scheme for an increasing number of social housing flats, which can thereafter be rented out to regular market conditions.

At the same time, shrinking budgets have occasioned city governments to stop any further subsidisations of social housing, so that new units are no longer being built. As general building director Jörn Walter puts it, Hamburg's budgetary law prohibits subsidisation of housing in the way of offering real-estate at 'artificially low' prices (read, at prices below those that could be achieved in the private market) (ibid: 211). As a matter of fact this law could only be changed through a majority vote in the citizenry, a majority that is unlikely to be achieved due to the resistance particularly of the more market-liberal parties. Before this background, HafenCity formed no exception, but was part of rule, regarding the absence of plans for social housing in its original masterplan. As I will display, a change of political constellations in Hamburg made it possible to challenge the regulation and eventually enable also subsidised housing. The phrasing of the HafenCity Masterplan however chimed with the conservative government in office at the time: it used the class-neutral jargon of a 'wide range of demographic groups' rather than touching upon the more delicate issue of income.

---

<sup>7</sup> comparable to council housing in the UK.

## 4.6 The first resident

In late of 2004, HafenCity's first flats were available for rent. These were units in one of the seven detached buildings gradually materialising on *Sandtorkai*, HafenCity's first street. More accurately, it is only half of a street: its northern side is flanked by the 19th century Speicherstadt barring HafenCity against Hamburg's old city centre spreading out northward. Yet, several passage ways and canal bridges interrupt the bulky warehouse blocks, making the Old Town visible in several locations on this street. The HafenCity side of Sandtorkai is lined by seven cubical buildings combining flats with offices designed in various variations of brick (as a deliberate reference to Hamburg's brownstone tradition), glass and steel. In order to allow the buildings' inhabitants and office workers an immediate view onto the water through windows, the buildings' backsides have been designed in a split level manner. Offices and flats at the flood secure level are integrated into overhangs protruding several meters up to the point of the quay wall. The corridor formed below enables pedestrians to promenade directly along the waterfront, which can be quickly cleared by the port authorities in the event of imminent high tide. Despite such technical artfulness, the architecture of the first street was repeatedly hit by criticism in the press for being either too dull, or, in fewer cases, too eclectic (Briegleb 2009a, Jacob 2007: 39; Dörting 2008: 73).



Image 4.2 Buildings at Sandtorkai with 'overhanging' structures leaving space for pedestrians underneath. (Source: HafenCity GmbH)

In summer of 2004, the buildings on Sandtorkai stood out from the cleared, sandy planes of the vast construction site and caught the eye of a marketing agent driving by. A sign post reading 'model flats read' raised his curiosity, the more so as he was about to return home after years of employment in Frankfurt. He followed the sign posts guiding him up a steel staircase onto the flood protected polder on which the five buildings stood. On wandering about in one of the viewable flats designed in open space manner, he fell in love with the generous window view over Hamburg's cleared docks. He signed a contract, yet unaware that he was the first official inhabitant of Hamburg's new model city. Frank, lawyer at age 35, had been pursuing a career in consulting and business development in various global enterprises such as Deloitte. This trajectory had entailed shifting work destinations across Germany, in South-East Asia and California.

Frank's decision to move to HafenCity had not remained unnoticed by the planning authorities. A week before moving into his newly completed flat, he received a phone call from the HCH. Surprised by the announcement that he was officially the first HafenCity resident, he gave his consent to a press conference

celebrating this event, with ‘seven selected journalists and catering’ (I-20: 6). On the actual day 60 journalists and TV reporters showed up, further to the senator of the urban development authority, who handed bread and salt to Frank as welcome gifts. Frank soon lost the overview of reporters roaming every corner of his flat. He felt overwhelmed with repeated questions about his person, of *how it felt* to live in a building site. He fended off suggestions presuming that he must feel lonely in a spot with no neighbours or shops (ibid: 7). What he *did* feel was amazement about hardly being given a chance to talk about HafenCity as a project. Instead many reporters sought after a ‘home-story’ oriented toward Frank’s way of life and interior design, as for them he qualified as a token case of *the* HafenCity resident (ibid:).

Although unprepared for it, Frank embraced the publicity. Passionate about the new-build scheme, he readily let himself be interpolated into the narrative on HafenCity as a ‘grand project.’ On his personal homepage, he displayed a handful of press articles from the news papers that had written on the press event. What Frank cherished the most in retrospect about the event was the longevity of new social contacts. He stayed in touch with a correspondent from the national news magazine *Stern* and from time to time journalists would pop in for a glass of wine to gather new insights on the locality from a ‘first hand witness’. By readily volunteering as an information source, Frank in turn secured himself a news agent as an important ally in the first neighbourhood initiative he co-founded. This initiative, that was an early indicator of the potential for cooperation resting within an early residential community, will be covered in the next chapter.

Frank exemplified the alertness of many incoming HafenCity residents to the development of their new environment, and the ability to follow it in situ, rather than just identifying with the privatised space of their flat. In my interviews with 55 residents, I was curious as to what had motivated them to choose a destination that would remain a busy building site for years to come.



**Table 4.1      Reasons for moving to HafenCity**

	<b>primary reason</b>	<b>secondary reason</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>water view / harbour ambience</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>nearness to city centre</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>experience of an 'unfinished' place</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>proximity to work</b>	<b>8</b>		<b>8</b>
<b>small flat more convenient than former house</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>suitable area for launching a retail business</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>3</b>
<b>ability to make new social contacts</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>purchase of own flat</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>2</b>
<b>convenient flat plan</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>2</b>
<b>place in a residential care home</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
<b>n = 55</b>			<b>Σ = 75</b>

Table 1.1 displays all motives named, ordered by frequency of responses. Almost half (37 out of 76) of all responses refer either to the water ambience or proximity to the city centre as most important reasons. This tallies with key preferences of place the HCH also accentuates in its newsletters published online (HafenCity 2011: 2). A large majority of my interview respondents occasionally skim read or had at least come across the HCH marketing material. The third most mentioned reason for HafenCity was the ability to make an unusual living experience, the longing for a place that was entirely new. To be sure, most respondents had of course informed themselves well enough beforehand so that on moving in, their new domicile was no blank slate that bore unpleasant surprises. Characterisations of HafenCity in information brochures and on its public relations website were indeed effective enough to invest a place with an a priori identity before this place was ready, or even looked anything like a neighbourhood. As I will expand in the next chapter, HafenCity was certainly prefigured to some extent by its corporate planners as an urban novelty before it was taken into actual possession by residents.

Interestingly, almost half of all respondents (48 percent) listed either the water vista or the experience of an unfinished place as a reason for choosing HafenCity. A large proportion was accordingly motivated by the aesthetic appeal of place rather than any practical criteria such as affordability or proximity to work and public transport. In the following quote Frank revealed how, similar to many early

residents, for him HafenCity was a destination with primarily symbolic and not functional significance (Savage et al 2010: 116):

I grew up in Hamburg's borough Billstedt, which today unfortunately has such a negative touch for having the reputation of an unsuccessful area, a 'hot spot'. But during my childhood in the 1970s, there was simply good quality housing still affordable for young families there, and the area was nice and green. It was Hamburg's proletarian east, which is remote from water. When I returned to Hamburg from Frankfurt in 2004 I thought I would definitely want to live with a view onto water to at least once experience the 'Hamburg feeling' differently. And as at the time I was working by the Alster River, I first surveyed the areas aligning it. These are beautiful, but somehow also very settled. And I was in a phase in which I didn't yet feel so settled. I wanted to be somewhere where something is still in the making, in the positive and negative sense. In this regard HafenCity was of course just my thing.  
(I-20: 24)

Frank's search for a domicile was entirely motivated by a pull- rather than push factors (Blokland 2003). It stands in contrast to the circumstances he was in as a child, where his place of residence was partly constrained by family obligations. His ability to meanwhile choose a place according to its environmental appeal indicates the relative freedom high-salaried professionals enjoy in terms of destination. This applied for singles like Frank, but also to another type of professional forming a larger fraction in HafenCity, the so-called DINKS, couples with double income but no children. Frank's choice of place was motivated by the promises of a rich sensual experience. This was a chiefly aesthetic attachment to destinations middle class individuals largely free from economic necessity are able to establish, a relationship of 'elective belonging' (Savage 2010) I described earlier. Frank had the freedom to choose a new place he needed when returning 'home' according to desires, not needs. He represented his new dwelling experience almost as a reward he was entitled to after a long period of perseverance and in this sense claimed 'moral rights over place' (ibid: 116).

Although HafenCity's cubicle architecture was not primarily what had attracted Frank, it naturally fell into line with his penchant for visual aesthetics. Frank appreciated the paintings of Kirchner and Munch and the architectural designs of – despite stylistically opposed – Frank Gehry and Richard Meier. As early as

1997, when for the first time the name 'HafenCity' was dropped by Hamburg's ex-mayor Voscherau, Frank eagerly followed the ensuing news coverage. He considered it 'brilliant for Hamburg that someone had come up with a vision' (I-20: 5) and he explained that as 'an active citizen of Hamburg who was interested in architecture', he was 'really into it' (ibid). His identification with HafenCity pointed to the fact that within the market of celebrated architecture, there is a tendency of producers and consumers to correspond in their ways of perceiving and judging on works according to their aesthetic value (Bourdieu 1984). Both groups originate from the educated middle class fractions with a heightened sensitivity to questions of design, form and symbolism in the urban landscape. It is in this realm of style creation that the higher possession of cultural capital of professionals in comparison with managers and industrialists becomes most apparent. Architects, and their affiliated assistants within other 'creative-industries' such as photographers, and editors of lifestyle magazines, circulate signs, images, and jargon which codify architecture into a style anticipated to be appealing to those with a marked conscience for aesthetics. These style consumers are frequently the soul mates of the producers, and are occupied in other professions in which cultural competence is demanded (Zukin 1982, 1991; Podmore 1998).



Image 4.3 Sitting area in Frank's living room with a view of the wave-like torso of Hamburg's new philharmonic. (Source: author's photo)

I am recurring to the tripartite scheme of the new middle classes offered by Savage et al. introduced earlier. Frank fits the category of geographically mobile, private sector professionals. Their operative tasks demand specialised knowledge and 'creative' skills in fields such as finance, consultation, marketing, advertising and IT. They typically pursue a lifestyle that embraces a broad range of consumption practices, particularly the more lavish ones which their respectable salaries enable them to pursue. They are illustrative of 'a culture of "health with champagne", a combination of otherwise opposing cultures:'

...this group is caught up in a major contradiction. While they take up and engage in a very wide range of health-giving activities, their affluence also allows them to indulge in a series of potentially non-health-giving lifestyles. Thus they are among the leading champagne drinkers. (..) In short, this group's lifestyle involves a number of tensions. On the one hand, they largely endorse the cultural practices of the intellectuals with their low levels of economic capital. On the other hand, largely since they are also able to market their skills, the professionals have the economic wealth and cultural propensities to

engage in precisely those older, supposedly less 'healthy', forms of consumption to which the intellectuals are averse. (Savage et al. 1992: 115)

Frank united some of these culturally opposed practices Savage et al. described as a post-modern lifestyle, one that rests on a patch-worked rather than fixed identity (Savage et al. 2010: 113-15). Frank had an inclination for avant-garde painting and architecture, health oriented sports and travel to culturally 'exotic' destinations. He exhibited musicality in playing the guitar, a classically low-brow instrument. On the other hand, he was not averse to pleasures derived from luxury. This bore witness to the suggestion that due to their economic wealth, in sum, managerial professionals' cultural consumption is bent more towards the consumption of sumptuous cultural works than to those lower in cost pursued by welfare sector professionals (jazz concerts, cinema and avant-garde theatre) (Lash and Urry 1987: 296):

Frank had two original expressionist oil canvasses leaning against his living room wall. His kitchen boasted a wine shelf of over 50 bottles, and sharing a good glass was a natural constituent of hosting guests. After greeting me at his door, he instantly offered me a glass of Prosecco, of which he poured me several in the course of the interview. He drove a BMW and besides fitness also pursued the exquisitely high-brow sports of tennis, golf and yachting. On his frequent business travels to California, he made friends with vintners, a contact leading to his share of a winery north of San Francisco. Above all, the monthly rent he was paying for his panorama view flat is comparable to the salary of a shop clerk. In a self-descriptive account, Frank admitted a complicated relationship to his privileged status:

I always say to myself, that I have both sides in my breast. I like it down to earth and also know how it is to help out those who have less. And on the other hand I like to allow myself luxury once in a while. But for me both sides are indeed compatible. The only thing not allowed to happen is that you arrogantly overlook everything in society, not seeing that it is so varied within. I have to admit I used to argue passionately, but meanwhile I am so balanced that I don't need to justify myself. But in the earlier days, when I was confronted particularly by the press with the claim that HafenCity was a yuppie-town, I always said, 'Well I'm sorry, I accept that this

is a common prejudice, but just take a closer look yourself once,  
and listen. Then you will see how different it can also be.'  
(I-20: 25)

Frank revealed a tension that has parallels to the one Butler and Robson (2003) typified for the *metropolitan habitus* of London's urban professionals. Besides a good portion of anxiety about a lacking structure in life, many shared in common a critical awareness of their materially secured positions. Their high levels of education predisposed them to liberal ideals of social equity and income redistribution. Analogously, Frank exhibited a conscience not to take his cultural assets for granted. He emphasized that growing up in Hamburg's less affluent, working class eastern part was important for his socialisation and for a part of his personality today. He argued it appeared natural to him to get engaged for peers, 'as it wasn't like in the western bourgeois districts of Hamburg, where money was abundant' (I-20: 24). In case of a school orchestra project, this meant helping a peer to acquire an instrument he would not have been able to afford. This posture of altruism is likely to stem from a twofold socialisation effect: Frank's upbringing by liberally minded parents who traditionally voted for the Social-Democratic Party, and a school experience of mixed social backgrounds that familiarized Frank with less affluent peers beyond his own middle class milieu. Frank's conscience about the value of cultural capital was likely to have been instituted by parents, who 'were cutting back on their own expenses as to enable things for him' (ibid), as he stressed. They inter alia supported him in co-founding and playing in a school orchestra and making his first work experience as a teenager in job placements. The crowning glory of his educational unfolding was a recommendation made by his grammar school for a scholarship of the renowned German research foundation 'Studienstiftung'. This award then secured his university programme in Law.

By the same token, in the passage cited Frank problematises the susceptibility of his privileged adult status to attack - by critics of capitalism, by the press, by society at large. In order to resolve this tension, he advocates a moral responsibility he sees inherently bound to his fortunate position – to help others, or to at least not indifferently accept inequality as naturally given. At the same time, Frank stresses how his status as a business man living single in an up-scale new-build area suggests

his overhasty classification as a 'young upwardly mobile professional.' The term is not just analytically shallow, but particularly in its more condescending acronym 'yuppie' also derogative in denoting a posture of hedonism, materialism and self-centredness (Ley 1996; Smith 1987). Although claiming to be immune to such populist labelling of HafenCity, Frank nonetheless felt obliged to rebuke media judgments he regarded as unqualified. He could not completely divorce a positive self-perception from the way his place of dwelling was represented by public opinion makers. His reaction was not just a distant echo of a more pronounced irritation many HafenCity residents I interviewed displayed toward premature judgments about their area in news reports.

Frank's living circumstances were also shaped by his occupational connection to a global market economy. His employment in global enterprises demanded flexible adaption to changing working circumstances in a volatile service economy, showing parallels to London's metropolitan gentrifiers I portrayed (Butler and Robson 2003; Bridge 2007). While Frank's career arrangements to some extent also implied a 'lack of structure' (Butler and Robson *ibid*), they did not appear to be a source of anxiety for him that would qualify his choice of city living as a 'coping strategy.' While Frank's housing preferences certainly reflected the habitus of an urban professional elite, they did not entail the cognitive aspects that would qualify this habitus also as 'metropolitan'. His choice of place was aesthetically oriented and not part of a wider strategy embarked on to make up for biographical discontinuity. Concededly, the freedom to embrace the positive aspects of globalisation, while remaining untouched by its challenges, was closely linked to Frank's demographic status. The metropolitan habitus was a disposition formed specifically among families with children or couples in the family planning phase. As households forced to reconcile career life with familial upbringing they were a rather new phenomenon among gentrifiers. Contrarily, Frank's status as an urban professional living single instead aligned him to the classic gentrifiers and their heyday during the 1980s property boom (Smith 1987; Ley 1996). Frank likewise reflected how this cohort among higher professionals continues to exist not merely in narratives of the past (Berry 1999; Karsten 2003).

Contrasting with the lifestyle constraints characterising a metropolitan habitus, Frank revealed that working in the global economy opened up new possibilities for 'consuming' places in a patch-worked manner (Urry 2002). Global air-travel was connected to his requirement to also work in California from time to time for his Hamburg-based employer. At his overseas work destination, Frank was once introduced by a business partner to some of his colleagues running a winery in Sonoma County north to San Francisco. Frank quickly hooked up with them, explaining that he 'learned to love' (I-20: 25) his new friends, so that he eventually bought into the wine company as a co-proprietor.

Beyond his liberal orientation and a career-related integration into globally dispersed networks, Frank's habitus did not appear 'metropolitan', in regard to his relationship to the neighbourhood. The metropolitan professionals described by Butler and Robson (2003) were marked by a generally peculiar relationship to the areas of inner London they had colonised. It swayed between expressing appreciation of their area's socio-cultural heterogeneity and an actual limited local involvement, tied strongly to their interest in successfully reproducing as a class. One of the reasons for this ambivalence was a diffuse anxiety about safety in an ethnically mixed area that inhibited an unencumbered identification with it, especially for those who had children. The result was at the most a very selective involvement in neighbourhood affairs, in groups and organisations (schools, environmental campaigns etc.) that ultimately served to tailor the area more to middle class standards of elitism. If there were interactions with the incumbent community, these were marked by a polite but restrained distance to locals epitomised in 'social tectonics' (ibid).

In contrast to this inhibited relationship to the local, Frank immersed himself enthusiastically into this new environment. The novelty of HafenCity was not the waterfront, of which Hamburg boasted many. It was the hitherto unknown experience of the city expanding to an area that had not been accessible due to its longstanding restriction to port use. The appeal of this new kind of place was that it retained some of its industrial character, albeit in a pruned version that excluded its element of heavy labour from the past. The harbour was now very much confined to its scenic aspect taking place on the water. Similar to other revamped waterfronts



across the world (Harvey 1989; Boyer 1992; O'Brien 1997) cargo ships and private yachts passing by were a regular spectacle to be gazed upon, while port facilities still in use on the opposite river bank enhanced the imagery. Frank's excitement about an elaborate architecture landscape arising in front of this harbour backdrop expressed itself in a larger proportion of time he spent in his neighbourhood. When friends visited him he regularly took them on walking tours through the area, something, as he stated, would have been unusual in any place lived previously (I-20: 21).

A crucial difference between London's inner areas and HafenCity, as central areas colonised by middle classes, is above all their contrasting nature as residential settings. While in London's case, on moving in, middle class households were confronted with an older, locally rooted working class population, the situation was completely different in a neighbourhood that had only begun to materialise. In the first months after his arrival, there were no other residents with which Frank could have interacted beyond a few neighbours moving into his building in irregular intervals, or into the four adjacent blocks. Meanwhile, he appreciated to be familiar with many neighbours on a level that did not demand much personal investment. Curiously, from an early stage HafenCity already offered capacities that relieved from personal efforts for getting to know one's neighbours and that also enabled to casually meet up if desired. Frank stated it was a nice aspect of his leisure life to meet neighbours coincidentally at the various information evenings staged by the development corporation HCH or at related seminars in which guest speakers related HafenCity to wider debates on contemporary urbanism. These events took place in the HafenCity information centre set up in the Speicherstadt already four years prior to the completion of the first buildings (Bruns-Berentelg 2012b: 81). Since the stretch of warehouses was directly opposite of Frank's building, he virtually only needed to switch to the opposite side of the road to attend an event. He was delighted about this opportunity of loosely meeting up with neighbours previously unfamiliar to him:

Here you don't need to make an appointment any longer, as you know that if you go to an event there will surely be a few you know. And somehow there is always time for a beer afterwards and a nice chat.  
(I-25: 22)

Frank's early engagement with his neighbourhood, which included loose contacts to a couple of neighbours dispersed over Sandtorkai, was inseparable from these opportunities for social encounter organised by HafenCity authorities. Noteworthy about these HafenCity events, that were open to a general public, was that their potential to strengthen residents' identification with the area rested upon their self-referential nature: due to the subject matter – a snapshot of HafenCity's development status – they were most relevant for residents as the ones directly affected by construction works (traffic diversions and street blockages due to construction work, inaugurations of new building projects etc.).



Image 4.4 Frank (far left) and the author celebrating a birthday with some of Frank's friends from HafenCity. (Source: author's photo)

These early examples of institutionally driven neighbourhood activity indicated how habitus in HafenCity was indeed to some degree corporately produced in the way discussed via Davidson (2007). As we shall see in this work, however, this corporate shaping of residents' relations to their habitat was not straightforward. It deviated in many ways from the commodified version of new-build riverside dwelling in London, particularly in regard to residents' involvement in community development and politics. Tracing back these developments and their entanglement

with HafenCity planning institutions is at the core of the analysis of HafenCity's early years in the following empiric chapters. Clearly, rather than a (hardly yet existing) residential population or neighbourhood life, it was HafenCity's planning institutions that operated to foster residents' attachment to place. Through events that regularly updated on HafenCity's progress, garnished with exhibitions, video presentations and talks given by architecture theorists, HCH proactively worked to instil a residential identity. Since marketing the mega project was an official task of the development agency, it was not surprising that in the dramaturgic nature of these very professionally run information events, the boundaries between 'news' and marketing became blurred. This observation sets the scene for investigating how HafenCity's planners, and especially the HCH as the key operator, engaged not only in environmental planning but also in the social engineering of a neighbourhood.

## 5 A new downtown and planned urbanity

### 5.1 Introduction

On the official HafenCity website, an aim for the new urban district is stated to be nothing less than the development of a 'model for the European inner city of the 21<sup>st</sup> century' (HCH b). This sounds like an overblown ambition regarding the pre-given urban fabric into which an inner city is embedded by definition and which preconditions its character. It is hard to imagine how a city project that is spatially confined by the two islands onto which it is built could become a blueprint for other urban contexts. HafenCity epitomises the postmodern city of aesthetics and consumption as opposed to the modernist city of instrumentality and production. Its elaborately designed open spaces are used as a backdrop by the HCH development corporation for staging numerous events (Selle 2002: 60).

Such sceneries of place are emblematic of a 'culturalisation of urban policies' (Häußermann et al. 2008) that has become a marker of inter-urban competition. HafenCity's outdoor spaces are conceived as 'hetero-spaces' (Lees 2012: 26) of pastiche and play. Although the plazas are framed by large office buildings on at least two sides, the boundary lines between work and recreation are subtly blurred in these spaces. In statements on HafenCity, its planners (involved in the development corporation and in the superordinate authority for urban development alike), have stressed their aim to create public spaces with high appeal for a range of visitors to the new waterfront city (Bruns-Berentelg et al. 2010). This claim is not untenable, but has materialised in the outdoor landscapes completed up-to-date. These are composed of highly differentiated pedestrian areas of split-level promenades, terraces, sculptures, and seating furniture of stone and wood. Symbolically charged names, de-contextualized from Hamburg's own seafaring history have been given to the plazas by the quays: 'Magellan-Terraces', 'Marco-Polo-Terraces' and 'Vasco-da-Gama Square'. These signifiers contrived to enhance HafenCity's alleged maritime flair fall in line with the installation of anachronistic harbour cranes from the 1970s; a fragmentary collage that plays on diffuse imaginations of discovery and cosmopolitanism, and vernacular nostalgia alike.



Image 5.1 The Magellan-Terraces with grey lamps referencing cranes (left), and an obsolete harbour crane in the background (right). (Source: author's photo)

Since the inauguration of the ‘Magellan-Terraces,’ a plaza cascading into the harbour basin, the HCH has used every further open space completed for animating the new district through events. There are seasonal art exhibitions, music festivals, book presentations and various water sport competitions (HafenCity 2008a: 11). It would however stretch matters too far to claim that urbanity, despite being orchestrated from above, was altogether staged. Certainly events were a marketing tool, a means of 'symbolic politics' (Wüst 2007: 4) aiming to communicate that HafenCity was meant as a place enjoyable for Hamburg citizens at large and no manicured enclave for affluent residents. But these events that lent HafenCity a temporary spectacle character were run on select occasions, beyond which the waterfront could be seen to be similarly teeming with people. On dry and storm free days, the plazas and promenades were popular with sun bathers, people pick nicking,



local office workers during their lunch breaks, yoga-practitioners and skate boarders alike.



Image 5.2 The Marco-Polo-Terraces. Visible in the background are harbour facilities still in operation on the southern Elbe banks. (Source: author's photo)

The complexity of the HafenCity development approach reveals that there is much more at stake than the design of an urban landscape. The strength of this approach is the high control capacity the City of Hamburg wields over all development stages as the owner of the building land. Regarding HafenCity' size and privileged central location, the city took the chance for thorough a priori evaluation of what was *not* wanted. Certain would be a break with mono-functionality represented by the inanimate City Nord, but also with the socially divisional patchwork of neo-liberal development, exemplified in the (early) London Docklands (HCH c). Much thought has been put into the question as to what a new downtown should actually offer, as opposed to just another commercial, residential or mixed-use district typical of brown field redevelopment.



Figure 5.1 HafenCity (shaded in dark colour) bordering onto Hamburg's old downtown. (Source: Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt, Amt für Landesplanung, in: Bruns-Berentelg 2012a: 72)

At the same time, the municipal planners were aware that even the most sophisticated concept was no use without its effective communication to a wider public, most prominently to the locally affected population. From its beginnings, the construction works were therefore accompanied by a professional public relations machinery the HCH ran to enhance the transparency and accountability of its procedure. A HafenCity website informed on the rationale for a new downtown, and provided portrayals and extensive documentation on every development stage taken (HCH d). It was supplemented by a quarterly news letter appearing online and in print from the point of completion of the first flats in late 2004 (HafenCity 2004). In its optimistic tone, this material resembled the high-gloss marketing brochures of real-estate agents. This is not surprising regarding that entrepreneurialism is a meanwhile widely established component of urban policy, particularly in Hamburg (Harvey 1989).

Its promotional guise notwithstanding, this published information at the same time boasted an explanatory depth that refuted its association with mere tokenism. In particular, progress reports on HafenCity written jointly by members of the HCH, building director Walter and experts from architecture and planning testified that there was more at stake than a new live-work playground for Richard Florida's (2002, 2004) 'creative class.' This applied most evidently in regard to the commitments the HCH made for turning HafenCity into a downtown for diverse population groups. A finely grained mix of uses is the quality through which HafenCity is most frequently characterised and at the core of the kind of urbanity its developers wish to achieve (HafenCity 2006: 5; HCH b). Updates on consecutive development stages are also given in irregular public information evenings hosted at the project's information centre. A wooden 3D-model of HafenCity is incorporated into it and regularly updated with miniature versions of recently completed edifices. Guided group tours of the building site start from here on a daily basis. And further to this, the HCH even runs a monthly 45-minute television report on a local station (Bruns-Berentelg et al 2012: 81). In this mix of documentation and talk show, individual stakeholders of HafenCity are interviewed on their impressions and experiences of the project, ranging from architects, property investors and developers to residents and people who have opened a shop in the area.





Image 5.3 HafenCity information centre with a 3D-model of the building site. (Source: author's photo)

Regarding the narratives these various in-house information tools circulate on HafenCity, it is evident that the creation of an identity of place is pushed forward well before this place has come into being. This resonates with a Lefebvrian perspective onto the production of urban space and its distinction<sup>8</sup> into *spatial practices* as the everyday lived reality in built environments, and *representations* of space as the images, models and narratives of designed space, the 'urban fantasies' of architects, planners and urban authorities (Lefebvre 2000 as cited by Dörfler 2011). 'Place' and 'space' are certainly not interchangeable as analytic categories. I outlined earlier, however, that I treat place in this work as a realm of human agency and active generation. It is in this vein compatible with space as something similarly enacted, although concededly without the topographic specification inherent to *place*.

---

<sup>8</sup> In his conceptual triad, Henri Lefebvre (2000) distinguished space into spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces.

In Lefebvre's sense, the media representations of HafenCity produced by its planners, which precede its physical existence, nourish aspirations for an innovation of the urban experience. The HafenCity website claims that 'the new city district is far more than just a spatial extension of the city centre. It is a point of departure for the development of a new kind of urbanity' (HCH b). For more than three decades 'urbanity' has been a central theme in planning discourses. The meanings attached to it have been inconsistent, leaving us with a placeholder for all sorts of imaginations of the city among architects, planners and social scientists (Busa 2005: 3; Wüst 2005). In line with its efforts to legitimise its policy through information, the HCH development team provides a glossary on its website with a list of technical terms it uses. Its definition of urbanity, as a 'feel' that comes about in urban places through a variety of building uses and co-presence of a diversity of people (HCH e), resembles the way in which planners have commonly tried to pin down an ambiguous term. In reference to the writings of urban thinkers like Jane Jacobs (1961) and Henri Lefebvre (2003), they have acknowledged the ambivalent character of urbanity as a state of being that does not just involve architecture; it also encompasses intangible and haphazard moments of experience, in which encounters with strangers play a large role.

By falling in line with this trend, little is said about how the urbanity that HafenCity's developers have in mind would in any sense be new. The project's unfolding is moreover not determined solely by its officially assigned planning agents but also incorporates the input of agents not foreseen in the procedure. On the one hand, media pressure was exerted on HafenCity to realign itself better to the needs of a wider population in Hamburg. On the other, there were those directly expressing their vested interests as organisations and residents stemming from the project's catchment area. Through their constructive suggestions made to planners and owed to the persistence in making their pleas, some institutions have found their way into HafenCity with their own buildings. In what follows, I will elaborate on the nature of this dynamic development course that introduced various innovations to HafenCity's built environment that had not been originally foreseen.

In their reviews of HafenCity, authors like Lees (2012) and Doerfler (2011) have discussed how the notion of planning urbanity appears contradictory in line

with Lefebvre's (2003) reading of the urban as something that involves coincidence, spontaneity and surprise. While Lees concedes that in line with changing urban conditions, the elasticity of urbanity itself as a descriptor ought to be acknowledged, Doerfler (2011) goes so far as to refute any possible reconciliation between urbanity and planning as an 'antinomy'. As he argues, the former is profoundly unpredictable while planning is always a deterministic matter (ibid: 99, 102). Rather than clinging to one rigid understanding of a concept, I find it more promising to inquire what a development corporation does to obtain or promote urbanity as a goal. Only by inspecting the actual conceptions of and related implementations toward urbanity can this fuzzy concept be made fruitful for the context of an urban district under development.



Image 5.4      Projected development plan for HafenCity (graphic). (Source: HafenCity GmbH)

## 5.2      Controlled land development for promoting diversity

In order to accomplish a high mix of uses not only by building types (horizontal mix) but also within individual buildings (vertical mix), land in HafenCity is developed in small, individualised parcels. Property developers wishing

to acquire a piece of land for building need to submit themselves to a multistage tendering procedure - the so-called *Anhandgabe* (Schubert 2007: 373). A design competition is run for a land plot reserved for one building or contiguous complex, from which an award winner is chosen. Care is taken that competitors are not ranked according to the price they are ready to pay for a plot (highest bidder principle) but in regard to their fulfilment of a 'concept specification' (Bruns-Berentelg 2012b: 78). These are special criteria prescribed to ensure a high building quality, such as energy efficiency, and, most prominently, the provision of services as add-ons to the standard of flats and offices: ground floors as public meeting places, surgeries, care facilities or shared common spaces for residents such as court yards. The award winner is granted a one-year period during which he or she elaborates the concept in permanent negotiation with the HCH. If the final layout is convincing, the land parcel is finally sold. As Dziomba (2012: 122) has suggested, this two-step tendering process has managed to align private property investors who are profit-driven to the city's community oriented goal of creating an environment that will benefit Hamburg's overall population.

As the owner of HafenCity terrain, the City has considerable leverage over a large piece of land in a prime location combining centrality with water proximity. For the realisation of a district that is functionally diverse, it draws on the instrument of 'market calibration' (Dziomba *ibid*: 129), directed particularly at private enterprises vying to position themselves with representative head quarters in the city centre. In order to stimulate competitors to come up with innovative applications, the availability of large parcels offered on HafenCity terrain is deliberately restricted. As I laid out in the introduction, 'centrality' may be a condition purposefully steered by urban authorities (Helbrecht and Dirksmeier 2012). Incentives may be created that enhance the symbolic value of sites that already benefit from their proximity to *existing* high-profile locations such as an old downtown. HafenCity's planners fall in line by encouraging the spatial clustering of highly-classified, prestigious organisations only a stone throw away from Hamburg's CBD. The calculation of the City is that such centrality is in part being created with the presence of several large enterprises (such as SAP or Unilever), leading to a rise in the area's quality of location from the view of businesses considering to move to HafenCity. By offering

only a limited number of sites for such companies, the HCH, as the City's operative arm, is able to sell a parcel at a higher price. It also becomes possible to impose more strict conditions on the applicant in terms of building quality, sustainability, and public accessibility (ibid: 129-30).

The general rule of allotting at least two different uses to any planned building has been stressed as a 'unique selling point' by building director Walter, that sets HafenCity off against previous waterfront projects (Walter 2012: 18-19). The consequent adherence to this rule was connected to the appointment of Jürgen Bruns-Berentelg as a CEO of the city-owned development corporation HCH in 2003. From his management of mega-projects such as Berlin's new central station and the Sony Centre at Potsdamer Platz, he was reputed for his talent in the coordination of complex development projects (Stimming 2004). Under his leadership, one of the insights was that the first street Sandtorkai could be no model for HafenCity's further trajectory. Although building variety had been considered by splitting up and assigning the city-owned terrain to different investors, the parcels had been sold at maximum prices. The result was an upscale housing segment of mostly freehold flats. It was certainly not affordable for average households but reserved more for higher earners like the first resident. No public ground floor uses such as shops had been added by property developers. Clearly, such a purely market-led land allocation contradicted the vision for functional and social variety and would also hardly find broad public acceptance across Hamburg (Bruns-Berentelg 2012a: 79; Menzl I-48: 17).

Accordingly for the launch of the next building section *Kaiserkai*, the CEO introduced a policy innovation on behalf of promoting tenancy diversity. This was significant in so far as the number of flats built on Kaiserkai would outstrip that of Sandtorkai more than sixfold and in this vein feature as HafenCity's first genuine residential street (Bruns-Berentelg 2012a: 76). Rather than selling to the highest bidder, plots were now tendered at fixed prices. On this pricing scheme applied also in other highly coveted city centre locations Reeve et al. (2013: 10) noted: 'the sale of city owned land at a fixed price better aligns property development goals with public interest, as bidders must compete for the land in their tenders by providing value to the City and the public.' In HafenCity, depending on their location on the southern or



northern side of Kaiserkai, plots were now sold at prices of 480 Euros, and 430 Euros per square meter respectively. According to the CEO this was 30 to 50 percent below what was demanded in locations of comparable downtown quality (Bruns-Berentelg *ibid*: 79).

Due to this sleight of hand, a heterogeneous profile of housing developers could be secured along this finger pier of roughly 500 meters length. It particularly lured in non-commercial housing developers taking the chance to build in a prestigious downtown location, in a market segment that was financially still in range for their clientele. One of them was an old-age home, the ground floor of which provided HafenCity with its first chemist. Of the 640 flats completed altogether on Kaiserkai, 30 percent were built by housing cooperatives (Bruns-Berentelg 2012a: 80). Another type of property that mitigated the street's comparatively high rent level were joint building ventures, of which three moved onto Kaiserkai (*ibid*). These have gained popularity in Germany in more recent times as an alternative to dependency on market prices and landlords. They are blocks of flats built and financed jointly by individuals for their own use. Through their financial deposit each participant acquires partial ownership of the building premises in addition to a flat. As a form of tenancy rather than ownership, cooperatives, in contrast, protect their tenants from market forces by setting their own rent prices.

While cooperatives were appreciable, it must be conceded that in HafenCity they commanded a rent level that was not exactly tailored to its classic clientele. I was informed by an architect involved in a local building project that cooperative housing rents in comparable central locations could be as low as 6,30 to 6,80 Euros per square meter. (I-38: 9) In HafenCity they could range from 9,50 to 13,50 Euros (HCH f), so that admittedly they were well above what a 'classic' cooperative tenant would pay. This diversion was grounded in the comparatively high costs for any building activity in the swampy marsh land of the harbour, in addition to the expensive flood protection technology on artificial mounds. Since the rent levels of the cooperatives nonetheless remained below those of the surrounding freehold

residencies, and are typically more stable over time, their presence did help to open up HafenCity for a wider range of mid-income groups<sup>9</sup>.



Image 5.5 Housing cooperatives on Kaiserkai. (Source: author's photo)

For a while it seemed that fixed-price tendering was a recipe that did justice to the planners' frequently made claims to diversity. As an instrument it would however not endure long. The reason given for its ban in 2010 (Bruns-Berentelg 2012b: 78-79), was the argument that city-owned territory was being sold unacceptably cheap. This standpoint reflects the subordinate significance a single development project was attributed in relation to the city at large, and made clear that a city administration is far from being united in its interests. This case ties back to contending goals of city governments in their land-development policies I discussed earlier, specifically between those of fiscal prosperity and reduction of social inequality. As I sketched, cutbacks on national welfare spending and the consequent

---

<sup>9</sup> As a comparison - the average rent price for Hamburg at large was 10,00 Euros per square meter at the time of my fieldwork in 2011 (immowelt 2011: 3).

fiscal restraints at the local level had enabled a neo-liberal spirit of entrepreneurialism to seep into urban administrations.

In this context, Rose (2010: 415) portrayed for Montreal how global market imperatives to fiscal stability interfered in its housing distribution policy. New-build development aiming to re-attract suburban middle class households as consumers and tax payers prevailed over funding for moderately priced housing supply. Regarding harbour conversions, Tunbridge (1988) described this dilemma as conflicts ensuing over 'socially and commercially motivated concepts' over land-use reconception. More specifically, such conflicts are not merely an expression of global market pressure exerted onto cities. In numerous port redevelopments in the US and Canada, rivalries arose instead at the intra-municipal level between different government departments (ibid). In Montreal, waterfront conversion was delayed when a municipally founded steering committee, comparable in its competency with the HCH, was confronted with ignoring city interests (ibid: 77). To some extent, as I shall now illustrate, the contending goals between the HCH and super-ordinate government levels regarding HafenCity's land sales policy reflect 'divergent mandates and philosophy' between government authorities (ibid: 76).

It does not surprise that the popularity of living in a privileged location quickly gained momentum. The run on HafenCity as a residential area ensured that flats were hardly ever vacant, and that property prices were soon driven up not only on Kaiserkai but also on the adjacent, still undeveloped areas. HafenCity's exclusiveness was stoked not only by a local media hype, but also in architecture supplements of national news journals like *Spiegel* (Dörting 2008: 72-75). The implications this had for the further development were explained to me by a planning official from the city's authority for urban development. I pointed out that while the HCH is charged with land sale and tendering, the final sovereignty over HafenCity lies with the authority for urban development, whose orders are passed on to the HCH for implementation. The planning official I interviewed was part of a small core group of seven people that had been created specifically for the conception of HafenCity. This includes its land-use allocations and zonings, which are generically outlined in the masterplan and concretised in land-use plans. Not even the



development authority however had unrestricted leeway, but had to come to terms with pressures exerted by other government agencies:

For defining the value of land, there is the estimator committee which surveys the market. According to the land sales in various locations it then identifies respective property values. Now the dumb thing is, when a building project is successful, these values are driven up. When in HafenCity or in the few inner-city locations plots are sold, the land price consequently rises. Especially since HafenCity is a success it is a motor for the price development of its real estate. This is something that is very difficult to prevent. So then an estimator committee comes along and says, 'these are the land values attainable on the market'. And budgetary law in turn forbids Hamburg's land use commission to sell land plots below their value.

(I-47: 5)

As the official revealed to me, there were evident limits to the social engineering of HafenCity via residential pre-selection. Interestingly, it was not a public planners' submission to the one-sided interests of a private property market that had created such limits. More specifically, this law had been invoked by a municipal office to override the competence of another one. The city's commission for land use watched closely over the sales of city-owned land, since these returns made up a substantial proportion of the city's budget. The city was accordingly behaving like a profit-seeking entrepreneur, despite not for profitability but for increasing its resources for administrative and public expenditures. Its fiscal wealth ranked higher than the well-meant social diversity in one of its showpiece developments.

It holds true that, as the official suggests, the dynamics of supply and demand on a privately dominated property market are very much beyond the control of government bodies (Smith 1996: 58). What did this imply for the progression of a new downtown that was to be diverse not only in residential terms but also in terms of community oriented services and functions? While HafenCity's planners were indeed discouraged from selling land to prices that were artificially reduced by subsidies, budgetary law could not dictate that land value was the *only* determining criterion. As the CEO of the development corporation, Bruns-Berentelg was an experienced strategist who knew well how to negotiate compromises and to circumvent bureaucratic hindrances to his endeavours. In the first instance, I learnt

from him in an interview that city administrations do have leeway in their interpretation of laws regulating land development:

you are legally not obliged, neither by EU law nor budget law, to follow a policy of maximising real estate prices. Rather, there is a whole package of requirements you can request, so that then indeed real estate price plays a role, but only a secondary one.  
(I-46: 8)

With the 'whole package' the CEO by and large referred to the aforementioned concept specifications stipulated in the tendering for encouraging applicants to come up with innovative suggestions. The CEO's commitment to these criteria and his efforts at persuading other agents involved in the planning process came to fruition. For the building sections following onto Kaiserkai, it was decided to apply a tendering procedure in which as a criterion, the land-use concept was weighted with 70 percent, while the payable real-estate price counted only for 30 percent (I-7: 8, Bruns-Berentelg 2012b: 79). This compromise achieved revealed that while land prices could not be subsidised limitlessly, city-owned property did not have to be treated like a random commodity. The success in maintaining the tool of fixed prices was not self-evident; it had required resilience on the side of a project manager at persuading higher government levels that were invoking fiscal balance as a super-ordinate interest of the City. The somewhat curbed continuation of the fixed price scheme in the 70/30 ratio notwithstanding, its continuation testified to a genuine commitment among planners to make HafenCity into diverse place in regard to income groups. In terms of seeking variation in housing, planned urbanity seemed to be on the right track.

### **5.3 Urbanity as a process rather than linear implementation**

Several thinkers have suggested an understanding of urbanity as an open process rather than as a tangible condition (Heer 1976: 5; Hortmann 1990: 140; Christiaanse 2000: 179). I would argue this can be equally said for cases where urbanity is planned, when it is something that is not prescribed on the drawing board

but *developed*. HafenCity is a textbook illustration. Its evolution was never linear but process driven, contingent on the socio-political dynamics of the wider metropolis into which it is embedded. While it was clear from the start that a new downtown was to combine a certain number of housing units with jobs, its specifications for social and cultural uses had not been spelt out. Particularly in the first couple of years its long development period therefore granted considerable scope for the conception of innovative building projects that would provide functions for Hamburg's wider citizenry. The impetus for such projects was typically given by agents not officially in charge of HafenCity's realization. Their non-affiliation possibly enabled a more distanced view onto aspects of infrastructure that planners had vaguely in mind but were putting on hold until HafenCity would have a critical number of inhabitants. It was a serendipity that within only one year, two of such added projects were educational ones, in form of a university and a school centre. Through the general accessibility of their buildings, these institutions were a step toward securing HafenCity as a public place that did not shun itself off, despite its predominantly private appropriation by offices and housing. An implicit enablement of public encounter and congregation was at the heart of HafenCity's agenda, which will still be elaborated in more detail in this chapter (Bruns-Berentelg 2012a). Particularly the school, the ground floors of which had been conceived as a local community centre, did justice to claims about the new district's high public qualities (Läpple et al. 2010).

The foundation of a university for Hamburg that specialised on urban development set the course for HafenCity's significance as a scientific research object. The connections built to academia indeed entailed that HafenCity's development approach became increasingly reflexive, in the sense that it monitored and evaluated its own progress along the way. Intermediate stages reached were investigated through different research methods, on the basis of which strengths and weaknesses could be discerned and possible modifications sought. The beauty of HafenCity as a research object was that here the rise of a community could be witnessed *in situ*. It gave the rare opportunity to study an 'urbanity-in-becoming' (Pløger 2010), and furthermore, to use findings made for translating them into policy measures that could be fed into the path of development. A strong collaborative

relationship was forged between urban development and science that came to fruition also in various joint research publications. Scholars in photography from HafenCity University were for instance commissioned by the HCH to carry out a two-month ethnographic study on people's behavioural patterns on the lavishly designed squares and promenades within the first completed building section (HCH g). The results of such studies appeared in books portraying HafenCity's interim development stages. Such documentations featured contributions written by HCH members and articles from university scholars side by side, making them into a quality seal indicating the integrity of HafenCity's planning rationale.

In Hamburg, there were several higher research institutions with overlaps in their programmes related to architecture and engineering, without offering any integration. This had inspired the Senate to establish a programme devoted to urban development from a comprehensive perspective. To this end, in early 2006 subjects taught at Hamburg's Technical University and two other universities for applied sciences were merged into a newly crafted academy that combined architecture, civil engineering, geomatics, and urban planning in various degree programmes (Gefroi 2012: 80-1). In 2012, 'HafenCity University', specialised in the 'Built Environment and Metropolitan Development', was inaugurated in its new building located in the brown fields of HafenCity's still undeveloped sections. Until then it had been operating for some years from scattered locations of the Technical University from which it had also emerged (HCU 2015).



Image 5.6 HafenCity's eastern, still largely undeveloped sections. Visible in the centre of the image, below the left end of the bridge is the main building of newly founded HafenCity University with its H-shaped layout. (Source: HafenCity Hamburg GmbH).

Already at an early stage, the university worked on making HafenCity into one of its main research areas. Practically in parallel to its founding process, unforeseen circumstances gave the impetus for a school centre to be introduced to HafenCity. This event had a signal effect in so far as the school would cater also for a less materially secured population living in the *old* downtown adjacent to HafenCity. *Katharinenviertel* was the name of a small sub-quarter of the old core of Hamburg situated just beyond the Speicherstadt. The central city's decade-long trend to commercial development had substantially decimated the quarter's residential base, which in 2004 culminated in the impending closure of the only local primary school (I-15: 1). The quarter's very committed church parish used the chance for launching a seminar series titled 'Compatibility of Family, Career and Childcare', in which emphasis was put on the question how HafenCity might evolve into a suitable place for families with children. Through his intense publicity, the senior pastor soon managed to raise wide concern among local authorities such as the borough council, port authority, police, and also the HCH. He also managed to mobilise parents from Katharinenviertel and a municipal care family service into a joint consortium that

campaigned for rescuing the school. Eventually, the city's board of education agreed to upkeep the school under particular conditions, as I was told by the senior pastor who was at the same time leading the consortium: a renovation of the dilapidated school building was refused in favour of its demolition. A new edifice was to be built instead on HafenCity grounds, in order to set a 'socio-cultural accent' in the new district (I-49: 2).

Meanwhile interest in the parish's family-oriented event series had been raised by social scientists based at the newly founded HafenCity University. The scientists were preparing a federally funded project named 'VERA', short for *Verzeitlichung des Raumes* ('Temporalization of Space.'). It was motivated by the diagnosis of increasing stressfulness for those working in a post-fordist economy. A stronger spatial link between place of residence, place of education and other care services was to offset the time pressures derived from factors like flexibilised work rhythms and increased female labour participation. HafenCity had been selected as a suitable research unit: it was seen to bear the potential to become a sustainable living- and working environment 'from scratch', a status districts usually attain only over long periods (Mückenberger 2007). Schools were certainly a central element for the time management of families, why it made sense for the research team to collaborate with the school consortium. A constructive alliance was formed that pondered over what kind of educational institution would be thinkable for HafenCity.

After its investigations carried out on HafenCity, the VERA-research team recommended to 'design infrastructure and services that build bridges across social groups within the new community [HafenCity], as well as to those living in the less privileged neighbouring districts' (Mückenberger *ibid*: 7). The report diagnosed the likelihood of social polarisation arising between the old and new downtown, in face of the concentration of up-market condominiums on the first completed street Sandtorkai. The new school pilot-model that finally gained the educational board's approval was heavily influenced by the recommendations of the VERA-research team. It provided full-day education and unlike common primary schools comprised six instead of four years to allow for a child's longer educational orientation. United under the roof would now be the primary school, a kindergarten, an after-school day

care for backing up the school on holidays, and even an emergency service for working parents requiring a nanny at short notice (katharinenschule 2015).

The school centre figured as a social integrator that straddled the populations of HafenCity and the adjacent inner-city. It was a step toward manifesting the new downtown's urbanity as one that was truly inclusive. With a state school free of charge it was reaching out its hand also to social classes with incomes that certainly denied them entry to HafenCity as a residential site. In 2009, the new school building opened its gate to accommodate all children from Katharinenviertel and its environs. In an interview, the school director expressed her appreciation that this way a up to third of all children had immigrant background. At the same time, only 10 out of a total of roughly 200 children stemmed from HafenCity itself, explainable with its still very small population base (I-56: 5). Public educational institutions present in HafenCity indicated that social responsibility had not been forgotten amidst all the premium office architecture and high profile residences. For CEO Bruns-Berentelg, however, these were piecemeal contributions which by themselves did not suffice to rationalise a project that was after all loaded with a vision. This was the vision for a downtown where things would after all be made better than in existing mixed-use schemes. In order to give the overarching catchphrase of urbanity greater substance, further work was required.





Image 5.7 *Katharinenschule*. School centre with six-year primary school with full-time curriculum, kindergarten and backup babysitting service. (Source: author's photo)

#### 5.4 Engineering capacities for public encounter

What better method was there for buttressing the soundness of a development project than by activating further research and academic debate on it? In light of HafenCity's affiliations established with its new university, the right conditions were already in place. The CEO got in touch with scholars he knew from the sociology department for preparing a conference that would address the question how urbanity and planning might go together. Under the auspices of the HCH, HafenCity University and geographers from the University of Bremen that had been additionally recruited, a symposium held in English was hosted in mid 2008 under the title 'Planning Urbanity - Life, Work, Space in the New Downtown' (HafenCity 2008b: 2). Over two days almost 80 international scholars presented and discussed on the theoretical and practical implications of urban planning.



In a paper nourished by debates at the symposium, CEO Bruns-Berentelg elaborated on his very own position on the kind of urbanity he considered desirable for a new downtown. The paper was also released in an English version for an edited book collection on the implications of policies of social mixing for gentrification (Bridge et al. 2012). In his paper, the CEO revisits the notion of a social mixing of neighbourhood populations pertinent to planning discourses. Due to its designation as a new downtown that will physically and demographically reengineer Hamburg's city centre, the CEO sees the project charged with particular responsibility to set a good example. In face of the local abundance of private uses in a prime urban location - commercial enterprises, but also wealthy residential households - the challenge is to prevent the development of a secluded, inward looking community that seals itself off against the co-presence of other social groups. The CEO wishes to pre-empt the local from becoming tinged by self-absorption and indifference to the presence of others, encapsulated in urban sociologist Simmel's (1903) notion of the urban dweller's 'blasé' attitude referred to by the CEO (Bruns-Berentelg 2012a: 76). The CEO's set goal is the achievement of an urbanity in HafenCity that is 'emancipatory' (ibid: 74). This harks back to a very longstanding association of the city with a liberating experience and realm where promises to self-realisation are best possibly fulfilled (Lees 2004).

In this vein, the CEO's approach can be seen to have commonalities with a pragmatism associated with practitioners of New Urbanism. Busa (2007) has recommended this stance as superior over the unquestioned embracement of self-centric quirks of celebrity architects, that planners have often seen as a solution. Some of Bruns-Berentelg's guiding principles for an emancipatory city indeed align with design criteria New urbanists also advocate, and which they derive from urban forms that have proven to be favoured by people over different historical eras (ibid). The CEO stresses the importance of social service outlets that actually bring people into contact with each other, most prominently those that cater to needs of particular population groups. Among the applicants that have in this regard been admitted to build in HafenCity are the aforementioned overarching school centre, a hotel employing mentally and physically impaired, a musician's house combining flats

with rehearsing rooms, and an ecumenical church project uniting people wishing to live and work together in a spiritually oriented manner (Bruns-Berentelg 2012a: 85).

In order to accordingly secure HafenCity's high accessibility and surplus value for a variety of imaginable people, the CEO advocates the advancement of a place with 'capacity of social encounter' (Bruns-Berentelg *ibid*: 71). This, as he states, would require social mixing, yet differently to the classic 'distributive model' that prioritises household income. He regards subsidised housing as inappropriate for the facilitation of a residential attitude that is socially inclusive and tolerant of other groups frequenting HafenCity (*ibid*: 76). In my interview with him, the CEO underpinned this assertion by arguing there was no empirical evidence that anywhere the mere co-existence of households with diverging income levels would have encouraged social interaction (I-5: 13).

There is indeed hardly any research that would have displayed significant interaction occurring between middle and lower class households living in the same residential area (Blokland and Van Eijk 2012; Robson and Butler 2001). I have discussed via Butler and Robson (2003) how in British inner-urban neighbourhoods, voluntary interaction between middle class and socially precarious groups was low near to non-existent. Similar observations were made where policies of deliberate social mixing had been applied (Lees 2008), and in riverside developments juxtaposed to working class harbour areas (Davidson 2003). Spatial proximity on its own does not encourage exchange beyond a shallow level, expressed in gestures of greeting or trivial services such as neighbours lending each other kitchen utensils (Häußermann and Siebel 2004: 111). For German cities, authors have similarly suggested interaction to be diminishing with the increase of class differences, where it will be confined to a conventional minimum for the handling of haphazard encounters (*ibid*; Friedrichs 1983: 250). Apparently, this has also been shown to apply in new-build projects, where a deliberate combination of market and state supplied housing simultaneously attracted residents from very contrasting income groups (Häußermann and Siebel *ibid*: 11-12).

Conversely, it seems overhasty to imply that 'capacity for encounter' could not be created if contact between differing social groups is minimal yet marked by rules of mutual respect, while more intense interaction will indeed be confined to

those of similar ilk (Bulmer 1986). In line with pertinent research, intense cross-class interaction may seem more like a romantic ideal. But this does not imply that its non-fulfilment would necessarily create a socially polarised district. Bruns-Berentelg makes it clear that he does not reject the legitimacy of subsidised housing per se for those in need of it. Problematic for him is the conclusion derived thereof that there was an automatic entitlement of exercising one's right to live in a place like HafenCity. Someone provided with fully subsidised housing could all too easily take this entitlement for granted:

I may realise that I live in a great place, but I won't derive any social obligations thereof. Exactly this is the crucial point. This mental leap is only made by very few within the context of this destructive principle of justice: namely, that I also derive a social activity thereof through which I make a contribution to my social environment - in contrast to those who actually do establish a cooperative strategy through their presence and say 'because I'm the member of a cooperative, or a building venture, I can generate a certain social character for the neighbourhood, I am indeed privileged. And from this positive privilege I derive a part of my social responsibility that I give back.' For me this is a big, very decisive difference.

(I-46: 16)

The CEO terms the concept of distributed justice as 'destructive', as in his view, a predetermined quota of subsidised housing for HafenCity would have created a 'social fix': a concentration of households tied to social claims that inhibit the formation of encounter capacity. Those living in locally subsidised housing would have accordingly associated this with their entitlement to welfare - irrespective of the locality in which they reside. This would have potentially impeded them from realising their place as an asset with which they would be able to identify (I-7: 12). Socially subsidised households would consequently have been far less able to develop dispositions for social engagement with their area. There are parallels to this notion of acknowledging one's locality as valuable and the self-image of middle class individuals after they had moved to a desired inner city district (Butler and Robson 2003). Inner London's gentrifiers conceded they had a privileged position as they were encroaching on the familiar habitat of an older incumbent population through their symbolic practices and conversions of local infrastructure. Their engagement in

the neighbourhood arose out of a subsequent obligation felt to 'put something back in' (ibid: 133).

Bruns-Berentelg provides no convincing reason for the implicit assumption that someone's entitlement to benefits would discourage them from making a commitment to their locality. The realisation of receiving accommodation in an area of high appeal, an appeal that also derives from the proximity to the old city centre's amenities, could contrarily raise one's feeling of self-worth and thus promote a positive identification with the locality. Curious about the CEO's standpoint is that the attraction of residents with such feelings of personal commitment are treated like an ingredient for successful planning. An urban planner treats the strategy of drawing together a critical number of particular resident groups as an almost waterproof prescription for a functioning community.

The HCH's pre-selection of forms of tenancy, epitomised in cooperatives and joint ventures, is described as exemplary by the CEO for the consolidation of cooperative networks among residents. The cooperative spirit of inhabitants of these two ownership models would serve as a basis for the formation of further voluntary associations across the neighbourhood (Bruns-Berentelg 2012a: 84). Envisioned is thus a 'performative urbanity' (Lees 2012: 31), generated by residents and their collectives ready to engage in activities among each other. In the interview, as well as in his paper, the CEO makes it clear that the potential for generating a place with a strong public character relies on a critical minority of residents. Specifically those who do not cultivate Simmel's 'blasé' attitude but a 'spirit of cooperation' (Bruns-Berentelg 2012: 84), are inclined to bond with others who are similarly enthusiastic protagonists of their locality. This numeric contrast between some who feel impelled to become active and those who simply tolerate their social environment has implications for those relying on distributed justice. Since a majority is assumed to remain disengaged, there is no plausible justification why a fraction of this majority could not just as well consist of subsidised housing tenants.

In essence, the appreciation of particular residential groups over others in HafenCity represents no entirely egalitarian but a *conditional* urbanity. By stressing residents' personal attitude about and commitment to their place, the CEO at least in part associates the creation of emancipatory potential for HafenCity with individual

merit. Residents of the ownership forms thought to contribute substantially to social network building - cooperatives and building ventures - are termed 'social entrepreneurs' (ibid). This is an urbanity that is not left to unfold haphazardly but one that is to some extent institutionalised through the pre-selection of residential groups among which communitarian dispositions are believed to be particularly represented. Social engineering at its best!

Despite the CEO's reservations to state-subsidised housing, decisions on this matter were made at a higher political level. Considerations made to introduce subsidised housing to HafenCity reflected Hamburg's changed political majorities coming out of the council elections of early 2011. With the Social Democrats (SPD) regaining power after the ten year Christian Democratic (CDU) *intermezzo*, HafenCity's trajectory was more closely aligned to Hamburg's generic code of practice in housing policy. Already a year earlier under CDU rule, the city had reacted to the steady increase of inner city rent and purchase prices spurred by the regained popularity of downtown living since the millennium turn (Bruns-Berentelg 2012b: 79). A law had been introduced that obliged all future inner-city housing developments on municipally sold land to provide a 20 percent quota of subsidised housing (ibid).

Under the new SPD government, this quota was not only increased to 30 percent in early 2011. It was also decided to expand the quota rule to the still unplanned sections of HafenCity, not least, as Bruns-Berentelg (2012a: 89) suggested, to counteract the stereotyping of the new district as a 'ghetto of the rich' (Becker 2010), in various news accounts (ibid; Twickel 2010; Blasberg et al. 2009). The introduction of socially subsidised housing agreed on by Hamburg's Citizenry was therefore not simply the logical policy shift of the new liberal government. It was also the yielding to the persisting pressure coming from a critical public. It was not accepted that at least some accommodation for the socially weaker should not be possible, in face of the enormous funding absorbed for HafenCity's landscape design and infrastructure geared to ecological sustainability. For HafenCity's eastern quarter *Baakenhafen*, 300 units of socially subsidised housing out of a total of 436 flats were now foreseen. They were envisioned as a combination of Germany's classic subsidising model, where rent is fixed at 6,20 Euros per square meter typically for

people on housing benefit, with a new model conceived specifically for HafenCity. This new model fixed rents at 8,30 in order to accommodate for a large fraction of Hamburg's population within a mid-income range slightly too high for qualifying for full subsidisation (Menzl et al. 2011: 15). A proportion of flats reserved for senior citizens were included in this model. Further to this, there would be 125 units for students, sized between 20 to 30 square meters at a monthly rent of 229 Euros (HCH h; HCH i).



Image 5.8      Housing blocks at Baakenhafen (graphic), planned to mix subsidised units with flats for families, senior citizens, students, as well as disabled people. (Source: HafenCity GmbH)

These figures are not overwhelming in relation to the overall 5,800 residential units planned for HafenCity. They are however no paltry allowance when considering that at the launch of the project in 2000, there was only a modest demand for inner-city living as such. At that time HafenCity was taken as a testing ground for prospects of re-establishing the central city as a residential site at all, as I was told by the planning official I quoted earlier (I-47: 2). For CEO Bruns-Berentelg the decision for subsidised housing meant that he had been charged with implementing a housing policy of which he himself was not convinced. It increased the pressure on him to make land plots further on attractive to real-estate developers. It most likely required extra efforts at persuasion to overcome their caveats about the compatibility of the

upmarket housing segment they typically preferred, with units for low-income people they were now obliged to provide cheek by jowl.

The rare situation of a community being developed 'from scratch' over an extensive time period had not only made HafenCity into an arena for socio-political research. It was also being used as an opportunity for trying innovative housing solutions for mixing population groups with different requirements. When the development had begun to noticeably take on traits of a residentially occupied neighbourhood in early 2006, it formed the occasion for its hitherto most comprehensive investigation study. Until this point, the construct of HafenCity as a territory that was privately administrated until it would finally be merged with municipal territory on completion had not been an issue. Now, however, a small base of residents had been established that was demanding more accountability of the permanent construction works it was surrounded by and that impinged on its everyday living quality. The inability to attend to these residents reflected the unresolved state of a district under way, for which a regular administration was not yet in place. Its governance was split up across various local authorities acting in parallel.

## **5.5 Filling a vacuum of political representation**

Overlapping jurisdictions have been a major impediment for citizens' attempts to acquire certainty on the origin of municipal decisions. The offices in charge have tended to reinforce this effect by devolving responsibility to one another (Jacobs 1961; Law 1988; Tunbridge 1988; Tweedale 1988). Chaskin (1999: 67) notes on two American cases:

In Memphis, for example, respondents noted the confusion caused by its dual city-county structure, in which residents may be uncertain about which arm of government is responsible for which service. A borough official in New York acknowledged that the existence of overlapping jurisdictions is as confusing for government as it can be for residents and leads to a 'lack of coordination and fragmented planning functions' that makes the inclusion of local participation processes difficult or renders them ineffective.

Due to HafenCity's nascent character, its political responsibilities were similarly ambiguous. They were shared by several administrative bodies, including Hamburg's port authority monitoring the water basins and aligning banks. Physically HafenCity was a part of Hamburg's inner city borough *Mitte*. Legally, it formed its own mini-district administrated by a fund completely separate from the municipal budget and managed by its development corporation. Although financially the HCH operated rather freely through land tendering, it did not exercise representative authority over HafenCity. As stated earlier, zoning and land use decisions were made by the authority for urban development and in many cases even had to be sanctioned by majority vote in the Citizenry.

The HCH was in an ungrateful position when it was for the first time confronted by residents with decisions made at other government levels. The CEO had spontaneously scheduled a meeting with residents at the information centre after he had received a complaint letter. A handful of residents had voiced their worries about an unexpected yet steadily expanding construction site along their street (I-7: 6). The CEO unsuccessfully tried to convince of the need to convert HafenCity's first completed street Sandtorkai into a bypass that would 'relieve' the congested inner-city ring road. Residents living on Sandtorkai were most alarmed by the prospect of the moderately frequented street becoming a tarred and widened speedway. Despite its various information channels through which HafenCity's executive body was trying hard to provide transparency on all construction works, some planning measures remained outside of its accountability. The HCH had no insight into the planning for roads that were not exclusively on its territory but simultaneously adjoining the warehouse district. Hoping for more certainty, the CEO had resorted to the chairman of the borough council, who had signalled good will to intercede in the conflict. As the CEO told me, it had turned out the councillor was not sure himself whether matters could be changed, and that he would need to check with his administration. And on the side of residents from Sandtorkai, he added, 'there was a very negative reaction, along the lines: "they have no ability of resolving problems", rather than just "no transparency". And that was far worse' (I-7: 6-7).





Image 5.9 Planners' first confrontation with residents: The bypass road Sandtorkai, separating HafenCity (left side) from the Speicherstadt. (Source: author's photo)

For the CEO the apparent incapacity of the borough council to step in for HafenCity marked a turning point. Even though it was known that HafenCity had no district administration of its own, this fact had now revealed itself as a paralysis. This deficiency, as the vigour of the residents' protests showed, was likely to become a permanent problem recoiling back on the CEO. He argued 'I recognised there is no problem solving potential if we leave the matter with the borough council, so that an entirely new context had to be produced in which these considerations could be advanced' (ibid: 7). For the generation of a profile of HafenCity's residential status, the CEO commissioned the Sociology department at HafenCity University to conduct an interview study with residents (I-41: 1-2). In the context of planned communities, interviews conducted with residents have a tradition in form of post-occupancy evaluations (Markus 1972). Since the 1960s, such surveys mainly assessed residents' satisfaction with the layouts of shared spaces such as stairways, corridors and exterior pedestrian areas. These approaches are dominated by an ecological perspective on newly built settlements, stressing the impact the built environment has onto the perception of users. Meanwhile more differentiated investigative methods emphasise the point of view of residents, since they are the

ones immediately involved in the construction of their dwelling reality (Churchman 1999).

In a similar vein, the interview method applied in HafenCity aimed to be non-prescriptive. Residents were encouraged to narrate on their local experiences, so that an in-depth account on HafenCity as a lived reality would be gained. The CEO director however argued that in contrast to purely residential neighbourhoods, the development of a 'new downtown' would imply 'very different challenges due to its fine-grained use mix' (I-7: 1). In line with his recommendations for a 'capacity for encounter', he told me the interview study had further aimed to diagnose how HafenCity could be sustained as an open public setting, despite businesses and home owners expanding their ambit into outdoor spaces (ibid). He explained he had thereby been guided by the concept of the 'new downtown' coined by urban scholar Ilse Helbrecht (2012), according to which newly planned city centres exert a remarkable pull-effect on various urban population groups. The CEO drew on his established affiliations with HafenCity University<sup>10</sup> to commission an explorative interview study on the residents already present in HafenCity. In mid-2006, HafenCity's second street *Kaiserkai* had started to become occupied, so that the study was now enriched by a wider base of informants. It was conducted by an urban sociologist in form of face-to-face interviews with round about 60 residents and lasted over several months.

---

<sup>10</sup> More exactly, it was the Sociology department of Hamburg's Technical University, which was in the process of being fused into the new HafenCity University that had just been founded.



Image 5.10 The first two completed streets Sandtorkai and Kaiserkai, built along a finger pier each. Sandtorkai is directly bordered by the mighty brownstone stretch of warehouses of the Speicherstadt. Visible on the Western tip of Kaiserkai is the massive Elbphilharmonic Hall in dark colour with its white, wavy roof. (Source: HafenCity Hamburg GmbH)

Above all, the post-occupancy study aimed to assess what kinds of attitudes and expectations toward HafenCity prevailed among the first cohorts of residents. The results provided a snapshot of the local social demography and shall be briefly summarised. Altogether, what respondents largely shared in common was their appreciation of HafenCity as a maritime living experience that reminded many of a holiday destination. Dr. Menzl, the sociologist who had conducted the interviews, identified five numerically dominating types of households he then distinguished further into categories. These categories took into account someone's stage in the lifecycle as well as their biography of residence, as a way to ascertain their mental and social attachments to their area.

The category 'multi-locals' had strong overlaps with the globally oriented professional typically found in inner-metropolitan contexts, such as in Butler and Robson's (2003) London study. Due to their occupations that afforded high mobility, they were living episodically at different destinations, a description with evident parallels to the lifestyle of the first resident Frank. Although they were generally enthusiastic about the 'maritime' experience of HafenCity, their time spent locally was understandably restrained by their need to travel frequently (Menzl 2008: 4).

A category given much more weight by Menzl as a place-maker were 'couples from the bourgeois middle class'. Among these were 'empty-nesters', who had abandoned their house after their children had moved out, to swap a quiet life on the fringe for the excitements of city life. Particular strong identification with their new home was identified for another type of couple the researcher termed 'threshold households.' Among them were many younger couples in a middle-income range, who previously lived in large housing estates and for whom moving to HafenCity was a promising 'fresh start'. Many of them found accommodation in HafenCity's more affordable housing cooperatives. They indulged most markedly in their new environment, where visits to its many building sites formed a major appeal. They respectively also expressed the least irritation about the many impositions caused by construction works such as noise and impeded access ways (ibid 4-5).

A further strongly represented group were 'wealthy pensioners'. These were mainly couples in which particularly the husbands used to be in higher occupational positions. The material comforts of life in a spacious, privately-owned house was still their preferred model. Accordingly, for these couples, moving to a smaller flat in HafenCity was accompanied with mixed feelings. Their career had required many of them to move places several times, so that relocation to HafenCity was no entirely unknown experience. It was seen as a chance for experiment, on which the verdict was still open. Menzl believed that due to their stock of experiences and occupational skills acquired over a lifetime, these residents would be particularly valuable for the animation of neighbourhood life, if they would manage to settle in well (ibid 5-6).

'Young owner-occupants' denoted a further group of younger, upwardly progressing residents. Their well-going careers were taken as a chance for acquiring local property, and beyond the appreciation of a vibrant downtown lifestyle, the flat was also seen as an investment. Their potential to develop local attachments was harder to forecast as it was seen to depend on further career and family plans. There were caveats regarding the suitability of a densely built neighbourhood for children, why a later relocation of many of these households did not appear unlikely (ibid: 6).

Finally, Menzl interviewed 13 households composed of 'families with children.' This group was found in various property types, ranging from cooperatives to regularly rented and owner-occupied flats. Almost all of these households had

moved along from elsewhere within Hamburg, mostly from inner-city areas. Relocating was usually pragmatically motivated, in order to better accommodate family life with a central city work place and recreational life (ibid 6-7).

What was diagnosed for residents interviewed across the board, was a sanguine prevailing mood that prompted to greet one another and introduce oneself to neighbours very quickly (ibid 8). The study however also revealed that dissatisfaction had accumulated among residents on various issues. The teething troubles of a new community were felt, as unanswered complaints the HCH had received in phone calls and letters had been piling up over time. The young community was attested many deficits for which the developers had no resources to cope with (I-41: 1). Several local services were still not running smoothly, such as waste disposal and regular mail-delivery. As Menzl conceded, some residents exhibited a NIMBY-attitude (not-in-my-backyard) in their complaints about environmental aspects, such as the noise from teenagers skating or playing basketball (ibid 2008: 10). The development corporation could not fit the treatment of such issues into its time plan or was not trained for communication that could bring relief. Most of its staff were engineers. The social dimension of HafenCity called for separate coordination and the establishment of a permanent office. In May 2007, two and a half years after Frank had broken ground as the first resident, sociologist Menzl was employed by the HCH. HafenCity had gotten its own ombudsman.

When I asked him why he thought he had been employed, he suggested that clearly this was a response to dynamics for which planners had not been prepared:

There were aspects about which residents were unsatisfied and little every-day issues that had added up. And I do believe that this knowledge led to the realisation that a certain aspect had until now not been attended adequately. It is an important wish to control this development process of HafenCity in some way or to at least steer it. And as it turned out this had until then not been the case – well, we do not want to *control* this process, something that is also not possible – this is meant in inverted commas. It is simply about accompanying a process, to give impulses in the one or other direction. And so it was realised that it would make sense to create a permanent post. Surely what contributed to this decision, was this first unsuccessful residents' information event, where there were intense discussions on Sandtorkai.

(I-47: 1)

The will to orchestrate the evolution of residential neighbourhood life is expressed here, whereby the ombudsman is quick to clarify this is not meant in a restraining form that would simply be imposed. Rather, with reference to a clientele that openly voices its opinion on the area's developments, it is recognised that HafenCity is suddenly 'talking back' to planners. Development could no longer continue through business as usual, as there was now a population that had taken on a life of its own. Residents had become a planning factor coequal to tendering and infrastructure design. At the same time it was recognised that these dynamics could also to some extent be coordinated, or less flattering, 'controlled'. It made sense now that three years later, when Menzl was well established as a neighbourhood coordinator, the CEO published his vision for a downtown with high encounter capacity. Various residential associations existed at this point that had been created with the help of the ombudsman, and indicated that a communitarian spirit was indeed in place.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

Neil Smith's (1996: 58) verdict on urban planning in capitalist societies is reaffirmed by the two key HafenCity planning agents I portrayed: planning, albeit a domain of the public sector, is structured by overriding market interests with which it needs to come to terms. The realisation of a mega-project like HafenCity ultimately depended on the sympathy of private capital for financing elaborate construction projects, irrespective of whether the resulting buildings would serve private, public or mixed uses. At the same time, I showed how public planners may gain in power when they are in the rare situation of being able to appropriate the logics of the market to their own ends. The city's ownership of a large contiguous piece of land in a privileged location allowed planners to some degree to themselves operate like capitalists (Dziomba 2012). The tendering instrument of 'concept specification' planners had introduced forced real-estate developers competing for coveted building land into concessions. In order to be shortlisted as potential recipients of building land, investors had to convince planners with building typologies not solely geared to

profit maximisation but attending to social diversity on a horizontal as well as vertical level.

In HafenCity, planned urbanity transcended such practices of designating land-uses and their material inscription into space. As I argued 'planning', as a purposeful activity, is inevitably teleological, while 'urbanity' is the result of activities that interpenetrate haphazardly and are not connected by a common goal. Reconciling planning with unplanned activity appears like a paradox. Looking at HafenCity evolving as an existing urban place we are forced to move beyond such common-sense understandings. Regarding the non-linearity of HafenCity's planning approach, I concur with Lees (2012) that HafenCity resembles what Pløger (2010) termed 'urbanity-in-becoming'. Planners do not proceed autonomously, but need to build in unforeseen impulses into their agenda delivered by agents coming from outside and not sanctioned with the same authority.

In HafenCity, such urbanity unfolded also with the primacy a single project was given within Hamburg's building activity. In this context, public attention was drawn to a place that significantly increased its relevance beyond that of a local district. The introduction of educational institutions serving wider population groups testified to the importance an individual district had assumed as a service provider for the wider metropolis. With HafenCity University, an institution was incorporated into a planning agenda that dedicated itself to the evaluation of this agenda in the course of its implementation. Further innovations inspired by the university that subjected planning to critical self-scrutiny were the conference focusing on HafenCity, land-use and residential studies, and a sociologist employed as a spokesperson for the local population. The sociologist's evaluation study of unfolding socio-demographic patterns ties in with the discovery of surveys as a tool of self-diagnosis in planning policy. Planners use surveys 'from the perspective of spatialisation of everyday life, where what matters is how one's place of living and working works functionally, conveniently, and rationally according to class and life-style (e.g. gentrification, creative class, career and the like)' (Pløger 2010: 323). Altogether, the institutionalisation of scientific research into a component of planning policy displayed that in HafenCity, urbanity had evolved into a reflexive procedure.

## **6 Bottom-up urban place-making by incoming residents**

### **6.1 Introduction**

In HafenCity, inner-city resettlement occurred differently to the way it did in previous waves of gentrification (Clay 1978; Laska and Spain 1980; Ley 1996; Butler 1997; Hackworth and Smith 2001). Bare of old buildings or any established social structures, this place neither stood for multi-cultural liberty celebrated by pioneer gentrifiers, nor was it a historically preserved urban village of boutiques, interior design and craft shops appealing to later waves of more established households (Zukin 1982; Jager 1986; Caulfield 1989; Ley 1996). HafenCity's socio-demographic variety, in regard to age, marital and occupational status, displays a complex situation. Some residents indeed evinced identification with the old inner city only a couple of hundred meters away from their flats. But this boiled down very much to taking delight in the vistas of church towers, without assigning particular value to history and place in the way classic gentrifiers did (Zukin 1982). Indeed, relationships to downtown were in many cases of a very pragmatic nature. With its central location, HafenCity spared many with inner-city jobs the need to commute, and also offered a plethora of gastronomy and cultural amenities in walking distance (Ley 1980: 245; Hamnett 2003: 2424; Butler and Robson 2003: 28; Butler 2007: 77).

As sketched earlier, residents of new-build developments in urban riverside locations have been described as atypical to classical inner-city resettlers. Centred on privacy and family life they were found to be more suburban than metropolitan (Butler 2007; Butler and Robson 2003). They were largely disinterested in neighbourhood life and its facilities (Davidson, Lees 2005; Davidson 2009), making use of their area at the most in bubbles of consumption (Bounds 2006). Particularly in London, a lure of riverside residences has been their offer as a package with domestic services included (laundry, private gym etc.) that relieves from house-keeping obligations (Davison 2007). In contrast to these portrayals, many of HafenCity's early settlers were no passive consumers of a commodified lifestyle, but producers of a local neighbourhood life. Significantly represented were socio-demographic groups that transcend the classic gentrifier households composed of



professionals living single or as childless couples. They intersected with the residential profiles captured in Menzl's post-occupancy study I summarised, without being equal. One of these proto-type gentrifiers were young families with small children which Karsten (2003) has termed 'yupps' - young urban professional parents. A further prominent and slightly more heterogeneous group were people at an advanced life stage: empty-nesters, pensioned couples, and senior citizens who had moved into the local old age home run by a Christian foundation. For many of them relocation was connected to a biographical turning point. HafenCity meant a 'fresh start' after the experience of divorce or separation, death of a close relative, the loss of work colleague affiliations with retirement, or children having moved out from home. From this point, living alone or in the tranquillity of Hamburg's green belt nurtured unpleasant scenarios of social isolation. As a residential community in which a majority had also just arrived recently, HafenCity bore perspectives for reinvigorated sociability.

In this vein, Butler's (2007) characterisation of new riverside developments needs to be put into perspective. There are parallels between the senior residents he identified in the Docklands and those in HafenCity, in terms of having exchanged a house in the suburbs for a smaller flat requiring less maintenance. There is however no self-explanatory reason why, as in the Docklands case, a longing for less household obligations would be coupled with a renunciation of local social affiliations (Butler 2007: 771). Contrarily, exactly when people have 'shed their family responsibilities' (ibid), they have reason to be delighted about the sudden liberties for joining social circles and forging friendships, especially when they are still in good health. HafenCity was an example par excellence. A discussion of the efforts particularly of senior residents toward building community ties will shed light on a group that has been only faintly addressed in the context of urban redevelopments (but see Bounds and Morris: 2006: 105-6; Butler 2007: 776; Rose and Villeneuve 2006).

For such people, who had consciously broken with biographical continuity - but also for those choosing a waterfront for more trivial aesthetic reasons - HafenCity became associated with a sense of place not experienced in any previous place inhabited. Such a new 'structure of feeling' echoes an atmosphere of emancipation

with which inner-urban areas were associated when they were appropriated by liberal gentrifiers (Ley 1996: 82). As Bounds (2006: 105) critically points out, the auspices have been reversed with the mutation of the process into a third wave of capital driven gentrification, exemplified in Sydney's new downtown Pyrmont-Ultimo. Here, identity and sensitivity of place are promoted by corporate investment that has colonised the symbolic meanings of place and its codes in urban landscaping.

I have discussed how the corporate representations of place have infused HafenCity with - arguably complex - meanings that set it apart from an empty canvass on which incoming residents would have stepped. This PR-material was however largely the projection of an envisaged future that did not bear witness to a district only beginning to take shape. On interviewing residents, I found their sense of place was to some extent imbued with corporate representations of place. Residents praised the controlled style of project development through the superintendence of a planning corporation, while the aesthetics of place were one feature among many others mentioned. Interviewees did not closely align to the new-build enclaves in London's Docklands, where residents' narratives reflected 'the marketing brochures with their pictures of waterside cranes, empty docks and modern 'fresh-as-a-daisy' housing' (Butler and Robson 2003: 106). Residential identifications, I argue, were defined much more around the in situ experience of HafenCity as a place that was still provisional and undefined, with the concomitant opportunities given to shape its further evolution.

Among HafenCity's earliest settlers, there was a small but fairly stable fraction quite similar to the gentrifier involved in collective social action (Warde 1991; Butler 2007). Enthusiastically involved in networking activity among neighbours, these 'active' residents were thus more similar to the archetypical gentrifier than to its more recent version typically consuming a pre-packaged lifestyle in newly-built developments. Regarding their commitment to place expressed in the launch of and participation in voluntary associations, these residents - crossing all age groups and occupation patterns - displayed a habitus that was less metropolitan than 'community' oriented (Bridge 2006: 1971). Residents' initiatives were indeed of a very mixed nature. They met the needs of people in similar professions, life stages and with shared recreational interests, while for some, local

engagement was additionally a method of aiding and abetting their careers. Residents generally had diffuse aspirations toward an environment seen to be up-and-coming. By availing themselves of various opportunities for individual and collective forms of local activity, these aspirations were cast into rewarding practices. As residents received each other's recognition for their efforts at promoting ties of community attachment, their individual valuation of the neighbourhood was enhanced and conveyed in a strengthened sense of 'moral ownership' over place (Savage 2005).

## **6.2 Resistance to planning hegemony**

I briefly sketched how HafenCity's planning policy occasioned residents' first (vigorous) attempts at place-making. Opposition to urban planners has been symptomatic for new communities becoming occupied for the first time (Suttles 1972; Ross 1999; Hampton 2003). I skimmed in the previous section that some of the earliest HafenCity residents were united in their trouble about progressing construction works seen to reduce the street axis lining their houses into a thoroughfare. There were various points of criticism about the street's planned character, which residents put forth in repeated meetings with the HCH and the urban development authority, and in complaint letters written to the CEO (I-28: 10). They could be summarised as the impending loss of a familiar sense of place - due to congestion, traffic noise, un-aesthetic road design, and danger for non-motorised traffic participants.

Essentially this was not place-making in a creative sense but the conservation of a status quo. There are parallels to the residential lobbyism in the English semi-rural town Peckham (Benson and Jackson 2012; Bacqué et al. 2015). In either case, residents had normative assumptions about the state in which their neighbourhoods were to be kept, guided by an idealised rather than rationalised idea of place. Contrasting with an established town like Peckham, in HafenCity this idea of place remained abstract. As a place it had not existed long enough to build a consistent image of its own. What applied here is Suttles's (1972: 41) claim about newly-built communities in general - that these have a 'readymade name and an image or identity'

previous to their occupation. There were analogies to the media-assisted creation of a loft-living habitus (Podmore 1988): news reports and architecture supplements stoked the image of a development that was cutting-edge, while these were mostly only citing the claims made in HafenCity's own information material, such as those regarding sustainable architecture (HafenCity 2010). Such narratives combined to boost the scheme's perception among residents as a place that was to perform high on all levels. It was a cognitive ideal Sandtorkai-residents were now defending, reflected also in a comment of the first resident Frank in a brief news coverage of the residents' campaign. He had managed to mobilise a journalist with whom he had stayed in contact since the press event celebrating his arrival. As Frank stated in the article: 'we have chosen Hamburg's leading lighthouse project as our place of residence. We know this area is lively, but an arterial road right in front of our doors we did not take into account' (Rebaschus 2006).

Incomers like Frank were sporadically drawing on the HCH's published brochures as a source of information. In these, cultural amenities planned for HafenCity were described as 'lighthouse projects', and 'liveliness' and 'vibrancy' were qualities attributed to the scheme (HCH j, k). Without allowing any causal explanation, this jargon was suggestive of being accomplice to a sense of place residents were now defending. Some residents took the optimistic marketing representations of HafenCity at face value and as promises that had not been kept. In some respects, they did not err. Due to elevation of the buildings onto flood protected polders, the ground floors below remained vulnerable to floods and therefore unsuitable for stores and gastronomy. Lacking any ground floor uses whatsoever, Sandtorkai was doomed to become an inhospitable lane of concrete in the view of many. This was a betrayal of the scheme's much promulgated principle of a finely tuned mix of uses (I-21: 6).

A way in which the residents of Sandtorkai organised their resistance to the progressing road reconstruction was an online forum. The provision of neighbourhoods with their own interactive web-sites is no novelty, and has also been part of the package residents moving into planned communities received (Ross 1999; Hampton 2003; Hampton and Wellman 2003). The crucial difference is that in these cases user forums were institutionally installed and controlled and not 'bottom-up'.

While various studies have attributed the digitalised neighbourhood limited leverage as an instrument for political deliberation, (Coleman and Gotze 2001; Edwards 2008; Wright and Street 2007), a study of Netville, Canada, has drawn a slightly different picture (Hampton 2003). In this newly built community residents had similarly taken action against the developer by which they were governed. The irony was that the dispute was fought over the issue of keeping up the service of the suburb's internet provision as such, which the developer had announced to shut down after a trial period.

In HafenCity, the partial successes residents achieved over time against the HCH as a planning authority were grounded in analogies of their online forum to a public arena (Hampton and Wellman 2003: 285). Many residents were indeed encouraged to join into online discussions because of their non-committal character. From a set of already available topics locals identified those by which they felt personally affected to chime in to a conversation. Since communication was asynchronous, there was considerably less pressure to respond immediately like in public meetings where people are physically co-present and visible to each other (ibid: 286). Max and his partner Ben, the founders of the website they had named *HafenCity Speaker's Corner*, underlined its democratic claim by running it in an open access manner (I-11: 14-15). Anyone who wished, regardless whether a local resident or not, could sign up and join into conversations.

With this technical medium, HafenCity's first residential initiative did not only become formalised but also gained in effectiveness in reaching its goals. As Max once explained to me, his success as a salesman relied also on the ability to convince others of the personal advantages a particular IT product would have for them (PO-DG-2: 26). Max had transferred this rhetorical competence to the discussion platform, where he used it to confidently articulate his and other residents' expectations for the local traffic layout. Cultural capital in form of communicative skills was tapped for pursuing political goals at the neighbourhood level. Max took pride in the extent of resonance the discussion threads had created, regarding that they had mobilised the HafenCity CEO into action:

I have been working in sales all my life. And I have made the experience:  
'do good things and talk about them.' You can do lots of good things, but

if no one knows about them, no one will give a damn. When we do something in the forum, when we write 'traffic regulation' or 'traffic lights on Sandtorkai on the wrong side'....do you know how many people read that? It is read by the HCH, the city council, by the authority for urban development, by the police... anyone can read it! And then we [the two administrators] get phone calls, but calls from the CEO. I then ask him 'could we meet for a talk? Come over once.' When he comes around, I then ask him, 'so what can we do? Can we perhaps direct the discussion a little more in *that* direction?' And then promptly, four weeks later, we have a new traffic light.  
(I-39: 17)

By tracking how passionately an argument was pursued online, the CEO could assess how urgently action was required. At the same time, it was a more comfortable way of negotiating complaints, which could now be kept at arm's length and were no longer fired at him in face-to-face meetings. In some cases, the suggestions made by residents in discussion threads for design improvements on Sandtorkai were approved by the HCH: one of the street's bottlenecks was attenuated, and a pedestrian light was installed on the most confusing and busy crossing used by HafenCity visitors coming from the historic Speicherstadt ([hafencityleben.de](http://hafencityleben.de)). Similar safety improvements followed in a couple of other places. Besides the CEO, other municipal agents occasionally used the forum for seeking orientation in their policies. When the local police patroller read about the anxiety of some residents after a series of burglaries, he arranged a meeting to give reassuring security advices. Authorities' ability to track fluctuations in the attention residents paid to different neighbourhood issues qualified the forum as a trend indicator for the local atmosphere.

### **6.3 Online interaction as a forerunner of face-to-face encounters**

Apart from a few cosmetic changes added on belatedly to Sandtorkai (such as a zebra crossing, and a median strip with trees) its conversion to a clearway could ultimately not be stopped. While this was disappointing for a few residential campaigners, a positive outcome was the maturation the online forum had meanwhile undergone to a more institutionalised platform. While the anti-traffic coalition gradually disintegrated, the forum was becoming an invaluable point of orientation

for a growing number of incoming residents. The temper of the online conversations were gearing down. In respect to its meanwhile more quotidian character, Max decided to rename the forum from HafenCity Speaker's Corner to *HafenCity-Leben* ('HafenCity-Life') (HafenCity 2008b).

In autumn 2007, HafenCity's second street Kaiserkai was materialising at pace and it was this section from which impulses for neighbouring activity now came. With increasing residential influx to Kaiserkai, conversation threads on the online forum diversified into a more generic exchange of advice among newcomers. In their posts, residents were asking who knew when the first bakery would come, who could lend a tool kit, and parents assessed who might be available for babysitting (hafencityleben.de b). For those with an affinity for the internet, this was a convenient way of requesting small favours from others known to live close by. At the same time reading other's posts enabled those who were curious to feel out what kind of neighbours they had. This way residents did not have to approach each other directly or ring each other's door bells, with the 'tacit admission of loneliness and the possibility of being rejected' (Gans 1967: 46). By interjecting into a conversation, no excuse was needed for introducing oneself as a neighbour. When individuals revealed interests and details about themselves in a thread, such 'social cues' (Hampton and Wellman 2003: 286) aloud residents to detect shared affinities.

Extroverted singles, by the same token, were not inhibited to openly admit they were seeking company. Laura was a divorced aircraft technician in her fifties. She had virtually fled her rented house in Blankenese, Hamburg's wealthy Western suburb expanding picturesquely over hillsides.

I lived in Blankenese before, where the water proximity appealed to me. But these were the worst three years in my life. Such a bullying in that house, not on the side of the landlord, but his partner - she turned my life into a horror and made it really hard for me. Down there in Blankenese they are all long-established. They want to let their flats and not deal any further with tenants. They collect the money and fly away. And *here*, we all started new. We all left something behind and were looking for contact. Some more, some less. (...) And everyone said to themselves, 'okay, we could all retreat into our homes and avoid contact.' Of course we also have these kind of people in the house. But so many are saying instead 'I moved here now, I want to make contacts.' And from this moment, things get much easier for oneself. Especially when you're a woman and single.  
(I-13: 3, 6)

Laura's comparison of her previous destination with HafenCity resonates with anti-suburban sentiments of gentrifiers. All thinkable negative attributions made to suburban communities regarding their social homogeneity and intolerance (Ley 1996) are condensed in her account. While appreciating proximity to water already prior to HafenCity, she had come to realise that the social rather than physical aspects of place determine its living quality. For her, relocating was a compensation for a virtually traumatic experience of a place she did not fit in. Parallels can be drawn to Butler and Robson's (2003) characterisation of gentrification as a coping strategy for London's newer middle class, but there are obvious differences. In London, the class of managerial-professionals sought the inner city for an aesthetic experience, its historically intriguing architecture and the stimulation through its cultural scenery. The social environment was very much subsumed under this aesthetic dimension. The local, ethnically diverse population was enjoyed as a 'social wallpaper' (Butler 2003: 2484), while contacts to one's own class were entertained less in the vicinity than across the wider inner city. For professionals like Laura, such contacts she could draw on in walking distance were crucial. Neighbours within each building on Kaiserkai had quickly familiarised, as they exchanged advice over similar problems in their flats with final repair works.

A year after the occupancy of Kaiserkai had begun, opportunities for meeting neighbours beyond the own block were scarce. In this situation, the online forum became recognised as a vehicle for driving neighbourly interaction. With its help, two individual institutions emerged practically in parallel to each other in autumn of 2007. One was a monthly dinner group rotating between various restaurants in the vicinity, the other a monthly get-together hosted by HafenCity's first housing cooperative. Both turned into popular occasions neighbours would use to 'air' one another for potential affinities (Ross 1999). It was proactive individuals like Laura who began using the forum to push its members to also get to know each other in person. After introducing herself briefly to the website's community, she proposed a joint dinner where everyone would have a chance to meet each other. The idea was enthusiastically received, so that a dozen residents soon met each other in person for the first time at a dining place in the adjacent Speicherstadt. As new restaurants began opening up on Kaiserkai over the year 2008, these casual dinner nights



increasingly took place in the neighbourhood itself rather than in the adjoining old quarters. Faces were now being matched to the 'salient facts' (Laurier, Whyte and Buckner. 2002: 349) residents had disclosed about each other online, such as their professions or the street sections inhabited.

#### **6.4 A dinner group connecting middle class fractions**

While the dinner group had initially attracted residents from various buildings, it soon stabilised into a relatively fixed core of four to five couples. The group constellation reflected subtle divisions of the middle class within. While Max, the administrator of the online forum, and his partner Ben were self-employed entrepreneurs, the remainder were either public or private sector professionals. Recurring to my earlier depictions, private sector managers and entrepreneurs have been found to contrast with public sector professionals in regard to types and volumes of resources possessed (Ley 1996; Butler 2003). In this case the differences in capital possession also aligned to the form of housing the individual dinner group members occupied. With the exception of Max and Ben, who owned their flat in HafenCity's up-market street Sandtorkai, all others were renters in cooperatives. Sometimes the tones of discussions between the befriended neighbours brought to the shore a difference in habitus between professionals as opposed to self-employed entrepreneurs. Diverging attitudes revealed a dissonance in values over issues such as material comfort or morally correct behaviour. Two excerpts from the conversations are illustrative. During one of the monthly dinner evenings, Max slipped an Apple smart phone out of his pocket to boast the high-resolution pictures he had made with its camera to his table companion Bill:

Max: Look Bill, how cool is that - view onto Sandtorkai dock from the Elbphilharmonic!

Bill: (bored) yeeeah...what you are trying to tell me 'Bill, why don't you yet have such a thing with the four or fivefold zoom technology?'

Max: That is actually an idea. Why do you have such a -

Bill: Your message is 'then Bill, you could do the same, then you could impress your wife by showing her such photos. But I am just about to reduce to a Motorola.'

Max: (Breaks into laughter) My commiserations! (pointing at next photo:) Look at the close up of the philharmonic's glass coating. It's usually not possible to display such detail.

Bill: And that's why I want my Motorola again. With that you can just make phone calls, not even text. Wireless. Imagine, a portable without wire!

Max: Congratulations to you in the year 1992.

Bill: But the casing of the Motorola comes with a little slot. I can keep stamps in there! (laughs).

Max: The funny thing is, with my phone I can also make calls. With such a phone my partner and I now have much more full-colour pictures.

Bill: (bored) That is so cool.

(PO-DG: 18)

Max had taken a guided tour onto the construction site of the philharmonic. From its viewing platform he had taken panorama shots of HafenCity and of the texture of the high-tech glass coating of the philharmonic. He had invested a considerable part of his wealth accrued as an IT-salesman in technical apparel and home electronics. Besides the neighbourhood online forum, he ran a private server network from home for camera surveillance of his flat in his and Ben's absence, a technology he had also installed on request for a young mother living in the building. For him, possessing state of the art technology was the climax of living quality. By showing around pictures of HafenCity, he established relevance for the remaining dinner group through a shared topic of concern. This was legitimate in comparison to merely boasting technical features, which could have been easily disqualified as pretentious. By downplaying Max's enthusiasm with a joke on his own outdated mobile, Bill in contrast belittled such technology to superfluous fetishism. With the reference made to his wife, he also suggested that in the presentations of such expensive technology, are concealed intentions of demonstrating superiority through status symbols, or 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu 1986). At the same time, his admittance of not being

able to 'impress' his wife reveals that he was not entirely free of pressures to keep pace with middle class consumption standards.

Disagreement within the group also ensued over a quarrel Max had once had with a local restaurant proprietor. In threads on the online forum, the proprietor of the *Quayside* restaurant had been repeatedly afflicted with accusations of bad quality cooking, unfriendly service and even low standards of hygiene (hafencityleben.de c). In one case, an unsatisfied restaurant visitor had crossed a line. His untenable allegations that eating at the Quayside was a health risk had prompted the proprietor to activate his lawyer. Max, as the forum administrator, had received a letter in which he was ordered to immediately delete the defamatory entries. In his view, Max had unjustly been made responsible for content for which he was only providing the infrastructure. He believed matters could have been settled peacefully, had the proprietor contacted him directly to explain his indignation. Ever since, Max had boycotted the restaurant. While some at the dinner table had in the past also not been excited about the Quayside's service, they could not understand Max's continued hostility over meanwhile more than two and a half years. The issue was rehashed when Julia, cooperative resident and meanwhile coordinator of the monthly dinners, was telling about her visit to a new local snack bar.

Julia: Did you know they offer Bavarian beer at the new French bistro? I popped in there yesterday.

Max: Nooo...that's an offshoot of the Quayside, avoid that place!

Bill: My wife and I we've been there already. We're friends with the staff. We find it great.

Max: What did *they* put in your tea? I want that too.

Julia: The idea is to give someone a second chance. Simply that.

Bill: Exactly.

Max: How many more chances shall I give them?

Bill: You just shouldn't insist on this feud. See, if we were all so resentful, people on the outside would say to each other 'oh dear, they're all retarded. Are they bored? Do they have too much time? They get upset about this and that. Oh dear oh dear, the narrow-

minded bourgeoisie.' So in that regard, I have a different view on that issue.

(PO-DG: 8-9)

With 'people on the outside', Bill touches on the delicate issue of residential identity in HafenCity. A district not yet familiar to many Hamburg inhabitants was at the mercy of an image assigned by public opinion makers. Several times had HafenCity been tarnished in local news paper reports as an island of social affluence (Blasberg, Kirchbach and Sussebach 2009; morgenpost.de). As mentioned in the previous chapter, stereotyping media coverage of the new district was a factor also influencing the policies of CEO Bruns-Berentelg.

The differing values displayed in the two conversation extracts to some extent reflect the class milieus captured for Germany by Vester (2005: 80-82). As professionals, all members of the dinner group belong to the higher social category he describes as the 'tradition line of higher education and higher services.' These are not the highest fractions of inherited wealth and property who hold the lead positions in industry and politics. They are the middle class occupying higher positions in public welfare and education, but also in the amorphous cultural sector that includes the arts and new media. This broader milieu is further divided into sub-fractions of which two are relevant for our case: the *liberal-intellectual milieu* inclined to cultural assets, and the *progressive elite of higher learning* oriented more to material assets (ibid: 80-1). Prioritising educational over material distinction, the liberal-intellectuals perceive themselves as an 'enlightened vanguard, responsible for the universalistic values of justice, peace and democracy and for the social and ecological problems caused by economic progress' (ibid).

Bill matches the liberal-intellectual milieu in terms of his occupation as well as his values. In the first extract Bill's anti-consumerist stance displays a post-materialist orientation. In the second he embraces enlightened ideals in regard to the tolerance and lenience he recommends as a way of reacting to the misdemeanour of others. Bill was a unit manager at Hamburg's branch of the Federal Railway Association and an active unionist like his wife working as a social worker (PO-DG-2: 7). He had a strong sense of justice for which he had gone to great lengths to his personal disadvantage. For rebuking the repeated neglect of safety measures on

various Northern German railway tracks at a conference, he had been disciplined by being temporarily transferred from his office in Hamburg to a different city (Ludwig and Ulrich 2001).

Max's professional biography was less straightforward. He more closely aligned with the progressive elite of higher learning. Common are key positions in sciences and engineering but also the humanities, while occupation as higher professionals, public sector officials and self-employed may reach back two family generations. A habitus of 'elitist progressivism' (ibid: 81) combines the virtue of self-disciplined work performance with an expressive life style that emphasises cultural distinction (ibid). Max's father had been a food supplier providing ship companies in the Speicherstadt. Although Max himself had considered pursuing a research career, he had spontaneously decided quitting his chemistry studies after 18 semesters. Unexpectedly he had been offered a post as a software distributor for an annual salary of 160,000 Deutschmark plus a company car, that had been too promising to decline. Meanwhile self-employed, his more than thirty years in business had awarded him with a respectable amount of wealth. This had enabled him to buy his 150 square meter flat on Sandtorkai, which he also regarded as a sensible investment. He was proud that within five years after moving in, the property's value had increased by 33 percent (I-39: 1-3; PO-DT-2: 26).

The differences between neighbours in regarding social backgrounds and associated habitus were evidently no obstacles for convivial encounters. Dissensions among dinner participants never exceeded the level of bantering. What united them was their identification with the neighbourhood, the evolvment of which they followed enthusiastically. As a construction site permanently changing its face, that was in parallel animated with events, HafenCity was the overarching theme on which conversations were generally hung up. There were always anecdotes to be shared on the latest events, such as new building sections, or gossip on neighbours familiar to everyone, as they likewise stemmed from the earliest residential cohorts. Spending time with one's neighbour was no longer defined by the 'rules of relevance' (Allan 1979: 12-18) of the shared territory of the neighbourhood. It had become an activity valued in its own right.

In this regard then, place worked as an intervening factor that connected social agents that would have otherwise had no reason to come together. The fascination of the neighbourhood and its sensual stimulations were reinforced in an experience others were similarly seen to make. I posit that this validation of a positive place-attachment in recurring narratives between neighbours instilled a community-oriented habitus among residents particularly vested in their area. As Savage stated (2010: 152), 'the feeling of being at ease or comfortable in "one's" place is precisely what relates habitus and field.' Bourdieu (1984) himself pointed out that habitus is durable but not unchangeable. Habitus may become modified and readapted to changing circumstances of place (Bacqué et al. 2015: 98).

The collectively experienced euphoria about HafenCity made cultural differences between middle class members seem less important. By definition, everyone living locally was a neighbour for everyone else. This was a pre-assigned identity with a relief function. By conveniently referring to each another as neighbours, the dinner group members were spared from pondering over what term accurately displayed the degree of intimacy between them (Blokland 2003: 91). Whether someone was close enough in order to qualify as 'friend' or only run under the term 'acquaintance', became negligible (Allan 1979: 42). The nuanced deviations residents perceived to exist between each other on questions over taste, morality and political orientation, were no obstacles for bonding. There was a tacit agreement that the occasions of meeting befriended neighbours in the way illustrated here were to serve sociability. This implied avoiding encounters from becoming confrontational in a way that would have jeopardised the outlook for reunions. Personal sensitivities were thus largely held back. Neighbourly company was sought, but in an intermittent, noncommittal mode. This was company bound to the occasion, a 'community of limited liability' (Suttles 1972).

Among the founders of the dinner group were residents from the first residential units that had been completed on Kaiserkai in late 2006. This was an ensemble of three buildings constructed by a housing cooperative named *Bergedorf-Bille*. Many cooperative members also used the online forum. It did not pass their attention when a forum user reported he had heard through the grapevine about some monthly meeting in a local building, and if anyone had more information. In a

prompt response opened with 'Hello HafenCity residents', a cooperative member explained the nature of the casual get-togethers with an inviting gesture:

Next to interesting topics and presentations on HafenCity our goal is that local residents get to know each other better and shape their environment together. This invitation is directed to ALL and not restricted to the Cooperative members. Our meeting has been running for a year and a firm core has been established that we would like to expand by neighbours who are interested.  
(hafencityleben.de d)

The housing cooperative's encouragement of a generic local population to join its activities resonates with a communitarian spirit the CEO of HafenCity also attributed to the cooperative tenancy form. Similarly, the meetings are not being presented merely as occasions for socialising but as means to participate in shaping one's locality. Bacqué et al. (2015: 800-1) have shown that place-making occurs not only through routine practices within a location such as shopping nearby or through narratives neighbours exchange on their shared territory. Beyond such everyday activity there are also committed forms of place-making, through actions deliberately seeking to maintain, protect or alter qualities of the immediate environment deemed valuable, for some more than for others. In the quoted passage, the cooperative encourages to such residentially initiated place-making, to place-making as something active and self-motivated.



Image 6.1 First residential development on Kaiserkai: Housing Cooperative Bergedorf-Bille. (Source: author's photo)

## 6.5 A common room as an incubator for voluntary associations

Housing cooperatives have a tradition of fostering social ties among their members (Pearson 1988; Birchall 1997). Part of their philosophy, which in Germany reaches back to the 19th century, has been their self-imposed social responsibility (Eichwald and Lutz 2011). The guiding principle of helping to acquire economic and social needs that individuals cannot meet by themselves has frequently been expanded by cooperatives to their surrounding neighbourhood (Sonnemann 1977). Measures through which cooperatives support the welfare of a population nearby include the sponsorship of community focal points, playgrounds, kindergartens and youth centres (Wegner 2012: 158). Local residents may also be included in the design of a cooperative's building infrastructure, especially if some of its interiors are reserved for restaurants, gyms and other public facilities. Local community cohesion has also been fostered by cooperatives by keeping their common rooms publicly accessible (ibid: 155-158).



Such a common room was also included in the house of the Bergedorf-Bille Cooperative that had advertised its meetings online. Aware of the scarcity of options to meet in an incipient district, the cooperative allowed its common room to evolve into a nucleus for structured neighbouring activity. Beyond a minority that found out about the monthly meetings online, many were subsequently informed by word of mouth diffusing over the manageably large area of Kaiserkai. As a result, the common room had soon become a magnet for residents keen to get to know more about each other.

Sue, spokeswoman for the cooperative and an extroverted civil servant, was the moderator of the monthly meetings and explained their dynamic evolution:

We began to expand our activities to residents that had just moved to HafenCity, and invited them. We didn't say 'only those from our block can come along', but when we spread the word across the neighbourhood we gave freedom to anyone who wanted to join us. We then began to organise real events. We once invited an official from the disaster management, who lectured about storm surges. Then we had Hamburg's chief of the fire brigade as a guest, who lives next door, and told us 1000 interesting things. Then another neighbour came, a professor for environmental sustainability, and gave a great power point presentation on oceanography. Over 50 people sat in the room and said 'Wow, we have so many interesting people living here who can tell us great stuff from their professions and their civic engagement'. These presentations were very popular.  
(I-25b: 8).

The knowledge HafenCity residents gained about each other in the common room meetings reflects what Bourdieu (1999: 126-7) termed a *profit of localisation*. These are benefits derived from being physically close to valued agents, goods or services. At the neighbourhood level they become an effect of the ability to occupy a desired place<sup>11</sup>. As Sue reveals, this profit resulted from the spatial concentration of residents possessing a considerable amount of educational resources (Bourdieu 1999). By attending the presentations given by a fraction of outgoing individuals, residents effortlessly gained insight into each other's fields of expertise. This knowledge about others living close by was more sophisticated than the biographical facts gathered

---

<sup>11</sup> This ability is closely tied to one's amount of economic capital (Bourdieu 1984), and the derived ability to afford HafenCity's rent prices.

about one's neighbours in passing, during casual encounters at the door step. Attending the topic-specific presentations became appreciated as a local activity that was for once not also *thematically* connected to the locality. At the foreground of a presentation was not the preeminent topic HafenCity, but the subject matter with which residents were dealing with in their specific professions.

After several residents had been invited to talk, the initial enthusiasm receded, until the presentations were discontinued. Several non-cooperative residents continued to join the monthly meetings. Some were keen to share experiences about the repair works needed in their flats after occupancy, others sought new friendships, and a smaller fraction was ambitioned to become involved in neighbourhood development. It was in this common room where freshly employed ombudsman Menzl also found a first audience to which he could introduce himself in person (I-25b: 4, 6). Residents were generally aware of his presence since the word about his interview study had spread. His new position as a 'spokesperson', as he was officially termed by the HCH, was announced with the distribution of so-called 'welcome packages' to the mailboxes of all households (I-48: 2-3). These folders held in the HCH's corporate colour scheme enclosed a welcome letter from the CEO, a portray book on early HafenCity, brochures on the scale of existing services and institutions, and Menzl's name card. While the development corporation was now providing a face to which people could turn, Menzl's local role was still awaiting concretisation. Over the first months, his activity was much defined in seeking out residents who were inclined to take part in any community activities per se (I-48: 2).



Image 6.2 Welcome-package for new residents. (Source: author's photo)

Since the cooperative's meetings took place on fixed dates, and their access remained under control of the cooperative, its common room compared badly with a publicly accessible community centre. Owing to the cooperative members' generous handling of their get-togethers as a point of contact nonetheless made the room into a reservoir for community activity. This became evident when not only residents but also local institutions used the room as a pool for recruiting volunteers. Volunteering in the maintenance of neighbourhood services has been central to the middle class's elective attachment to place. Whether through parent-teacher associations in the gentrifying districts of Inner London (Butler and Robson 2003), or library service and festival organisation in schools of suburban towns (Bacqué et al. 2015: 122), such volunteering also reflects feelings of moral duty toward one's place of residence (ibid). In HafenCity, particularly seniors citizens craved for an active social life. They comprised retired couples still in good health as well as widowed or divorced singles who did not want to end up in loneliness. For the most part, they met up for playing cards at each other's homes, for playing boules on the Marco-Polo Terraces,

or for chatting in one of the handful of cafes on Kaiserkai. In fewer cases, their considerable amount of free time induced them to partake in running the neighbourhood's infrastructure.

As HafenCity shows, such commitment is however not self-evident but often requires external facilitators to be in place at the right time. An activating force here was the senior pastor Tom from the adjacent district Katharinenviertel. As I illustrated, his church had been the driver for rescuing the district's primary school. The kindergarten enclosed in the new school building was under Tom's supervision, and on his search for volunteers he had turned to attendants of the cooperative meetings. With the exception of very few housewives, it was pensioned women who readily agreed to help out, by singing with children at the kindergarten or as homework tutors for older ones at the school. Such opportunities of activity were given with HafenCity's favourable location adjacent to the old downtown for which it acted as a feeder. Without the Old and New Town's population base of 14,000 people, the ability of a school centre to sustain itself would have been questionable: in early 2011, from the 85 children visiting the kindergarten still only a third came from HafenCity itself.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>This figure I was told by a kindergartener (PO-16: 8).



Image 6.3      An early lay-practitioner in urban development: the senior pastor from the church St. Katharinenkirche in adjacent Katharinenviertel.  
(Source: author's photo)

Instrumental help services supplied by residents for supporting neighbourhood infrastructure were paralleled by initiatives more genuinely oriented to sociability. Sue's evaluation of these occasions on which neighbours pondered over joint social activities and projects is instructive:

From my perception and experience many people live here who are extraordinarily approachable. Many are very creative and possess many resources, of which you can also make use quickly, for example when someone spontaneously creates a flyer. This is because these are professions that involve such things. There are dozens of people here who can design websites, and this way you quickly get a homepage done. This accumulation of people who are in some way on a creative or design level, or in the social sector, or teachers or pastors, they have loads of resources.

(I-25b: 3-4)

Residents who were similarly well-educated tapped their capacities for each other's stimulation and thereby formed ties of 'creatively' cooperating neighbours. The skills applied thereby originated in the individuals' particular occupations. Such occupations emphasised the development of ideas and their conversion into products that combine visual, auditory, textual and performative elements. Subsumed under the cultural or 'creative industries', these fields encompass arts and design, computer programming, fashion and music production, the museum sector, and in a wider sense also engineering and university teaching (Pratt 2010). In this vein they complied with the HCH's visions for turning HafenCity into an arena where Florida's (2002, 2004) 'creative class' would be able to unfold its potentials. Such aspirations were expressed inter alia in the HCH's establishment of a cultural quarter with workshops for artisans (HCH l), the promotion of creative sector businesses as settlers (HCH m), the hosting of outdoor art events and exhibitions, and the setup of a 'Cultural Coordination Committee of HafenCity' as early as 2005 (HCH n). It was no coincidence that the observation of an abundance of cultural capital among residents was made by the moderator of the monthly meetings. Besides the skills possessed by residents occupied in various professions and applied for joint activities, such activities needed an initialising impulse to become realised. It was energetic individuals like Sue and her husband, used to being leaders through their consultancy work as civil servants, who had given the impetus.

Sue's examples of residents putting their creative skills into practice are the design of websites and flyers. The former is exemplified in the neighbourhood online forum, while the second relates to one of the first local initiatives brought to life at the common room. The idea for a flea market had come up. Due to personal experience, it was generally known that after moving along, residents wanted to get rid of furniture and household articles found to be redundant. In their conception of 'doing the local', Benson and Jackson (2014: 1205) carved out the performative dimension of place-making - interventions into the built environment through environmental campaigns or renovation activities. These practices relied on a clear sense of place and the wish to preserve it.

Such a collective awareness of place, an 'imagined neighbourhood' local residents find desirable and which they strive to maintain (Bacqué et al. 2015: 113),

was absent in HafenCity's flea market project. Instead, HafenCity residents not familiar beyond knowing each other's faces from the monthly meetings were bonding in an ad-hoc manner - precisely for enhancing their familiarity with the local. In the Parisian commuter town Noisy, middle class newcomers who had chosen the area as a desirable place to live felt estranged when they found they were a local minority. Similar to HafenCity, they collectively engaged in activities to reduce their unease, by promoting the development of amenities catering to their needs (a library, a cafe) for congregation and cultural stimulation (ibid: 115). In the housing cooperative's common room, residents had assembled who were curious to find out who their neighbours were. Again, the new situation of an unsettled residential community was an incitement for engaging in activities individuals would normally have been hesitant to perform. A woman involved in the conception of the flea market remembers, 'I am actually no flea-market type person. For me it was the fun in organising it. (...) The lure of a flea market was to be able to quickly get to know locals' (HafenCity 2008c: 6). The market was contrived as an occasion for familiarising a larger number of newcomers in their roles as vendors and market visitors. Place-making thus did not occur through established practices in which locals would have validated their local identity, such as in everyday conversations on local affairs. The little knowledge residents from varying buildings had been able to gather about each other in the monthly meetings was too rudimentary to 'enact and reinforce particular understandings of place' (Benson and Jackson 2012: 797).

Performing place through a collaborative group project instead required improvisation and negotiation of tasks participants in the flea market project were to take over. To begin with, communicating the event was not straightforward. Since there was no registry of local phone numbers or email addresses, it was decided to print flyers informing on the event. It was for solving such technical issues that engaged residents began turning to ombudsman Menzl. As an affiliate of the HCH he was able to provide statistics on the number of occupied households for deciding how many flyers needed to be printed. He also facilitated the event organisation by informing on all legal regulations for occupying the waterfront promenade with market booths (I-20: 19). Sharron, a married woman without children had agreed to take over the coordination of the event preparations. She indicated that at this early



stage of occupancy, the planning authority's appreciation of residential place-making took shape in a lax handling of the usual bureaucratic standards: 'the HCH agreed to let us occupy the promenades for running the flea market free of charge, because they have an interest in fostering residential initiatives' (ibid). The flea market was an



Image 6.4 Flea-market run by residents. (Source: HafenCity News 2012)

innovation to place as something spontaneously added in a makeshift way. Those involved could not draw on existing narratives of place, on an existing 'stock of knowledge' about one another (Schütz 1963) from where they could have securely proceeded.

Possibly the local concentration of professionals in creative sectors like advertising, marketing and web-design was not higher than in other inner-metropolitan areas. A difference was that many deployed their occupational skills also for the neighbourhood *because* place here acted as an animating source of inspiration. This also applied to Pete, founder of an online news paper named *HafenCity News*. He believed that in other neighbourhood contexts he 'would not even have gotten the idea' for such a project (I-11: 11). The sensuality of the neighbourhood could act as a stimulant for creative activity. In what follows, I will



illustrate how such interaction between cultural capital and place resulted in the launch of a news paper for HafenCity.

## **6.6 Reinforcing attachment to place through journalistic activity**

News papers run by residents that report on their local environment are like tributes paid to a neighbourhood in a self-referential manner. Such projects are artistic ways of expression through which middle class residents reaffirm a sense of belonging to their locality (Benson and Jackson 2012: 800). Pete's predilection for water had brought him to one of the housing cooperatives in the mid-section of Kaiserkai. He was fascinated by the area's construction sites which he had extensively toured and photographed. As an IT-consultant he was familiar with techniques of photo-editing, so that he set up a public online gallery documenting HafenCity's metamorphosis over time. At some moment, he found images by themselves were not intriguing but called for substantiation. Pete recalls the kickoff for his subsequent launch of an online paper focusing on the neighbourhood:

As an IT-person, I am usually reserved, rather introverted. And I did not go about in a typical journalist style but simply scraped together bits of information. One sunny morning during breakfast, I was peering down onto Vasco-da-Gama Platz, above which I live. There were these women looking as if they were cleaning the concrete floor...what totally irritated me and also made me curious. I wanted to know what they were doing. So I pulled myself together for the first time and went down there to ask them directly. And you usually expect that people react annoyed and feel disturbed. But they were totally approachable. It was a group of specialists for glazing concrete, that is, they coat and refine the concrete. And all of a sudden, I had stuff together for the first article in my life, with photos and everything. I received so much good resonance that I continued writing.  
(I-11: 7)

Tellingly, it was the sensations within Pete's new environment that helped him overcome his fears to explore it in a more investigative way. The stimuli of place were so alluring that curiosity won over inhibition. At the same time they prompted Pete to familiarise with the craft of journalism as something that had not occurred to him before. This chimes with Sayer's (2005: 25, as cited in Bacqué et al. 2015)

diagnosis on place as a factor that may tease out proclivities that would otherwise have remained hidden: 'experiences can modify the habitus and produce new dispositions, and skills, enabling people to react in new ways . . . they may feel comfortable in contexts where they might not have done earlier'.

Neighbourhood newspapers are exemplary works through which middle classes do not just express attachment to their place of elective belonging. They deliberately work to construct place identity by selectively highlighting qualities of their area. In Paris's ninth arrondissement, a group of friends produced a local paper that celebrated the convivial 'village character' of the district (Bacqué et al. 2015: 113). In London's commuter town Peckham, a resident also professionally working as a journalist wrote news articles to counteract tenacious representations of the town as an inhospitable area in the mainstream press (Benson and Jackson 2012: 801). Pete similarly saw his paper as a corrective to the sugar-coated portrayals of HafenCity in the quarterly news letter released by the HCH. His more upfront writing style omitted to glorify residential initiatives as path breaking for a nascent neighbourhood. He felt committed to act as an agent who would build bridges to adjacent Katharinenviertel by reporting on events and cultural programmes hosted by its church. This inclusive ambition of the paper was emphasised in its subtitle: 'News for your neighbourhood: HafenCity, Speicherstadt, Katharinenviertel' (HafenCity Zeitung 2010). As we recall, from his outpost in adjacent Katharinenviertel, pastor Tom had once pushed the introduction of a school centre to HafenCity for children living in its less privileged surroundings. While this had been an example of physically including a socially weaker population into the scheme's evolution, the news coverage provided by Pete's paper was a symbolic one. Both contributions were made by lay agents not officially commissioned with planning activity.



Figure 6.1 Location of the old downtown's sub-district *Katharinviertel* north of HafenCity, shaded in red. (Source: Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt, Amt für Landesplanung, in: Bruns-Berentelg 2012a: 72 (own adaptation))

The positive resonance to *HafenCity News* was so overwhelming that Pete's neighbours soon urged him to also provide a print version they could enjoy as a classic physical paper. Pete accepted the challenge, whereas again he was in a good vantage point due to his broad field of expertise. Specialised in pre-press for catalogue printing, the creation of a physical paper was only a matter of practice. Editorially, Pete was meanwhile supported by three befriended neighbours who were similarly enthused about writing on local events, building projects and shop openings. The printing costs of the paper, which in its physical version had been renamed into *HafenCity Zeitung* ('Newspaper'), was financed by advertisements: service firms, stores and doctor's surgeries located in a nascent neighbourhood took their chance to boost their publicity. The monthly appearing paper was free of charge and available in HafenCity's restaurants, cafes and stores. The paper's genesis, originating from a photo archive that had matured into a physical news paper,

revealed how for creative sector workers, the neighbourhood could be a stimulant for harnessing their skills in new ways.



Image 6.5 HafenCity's residentially run news paper.  
(Source: HafenCity News 2012)

All foregoing descriptions traced how locals' sense of 'belonging' (Benson and Jackson 2012: 801) to place was expressed in different ways of voluntarily engaging with it. A different relationship to place arose when residents additionally represented an organisation based in HafenCity they were working for, or by running their own one. For them, local engagement in a new downtown that was 'up-and-coming' bore the opportunity to build new relationships that also benefitted their local career advancement - in form of customer relations, partnerships, sponsorships, and so forth.

## 6.7 Neighbourhood use for career advancement

The relationships portrayed so far were either based upon help-services exchanged among neighbours or entertained for the sake of sociability and recreational fulfilment. For those running a local business or charity, they had an additional utility for self-sustenance. Place-making activity through residents chairing a local organisation was not solely grounded in emotional but also in aspirational identifications with their area. Other residents acquired new meaning as a facilitating asset. It makes sense here to distinguish between social capital that helps one to 'get by' (social support) and social capital to 'get ahead' (social leverage), as suggested by de Souza Briggs (2010: 178). The first type denotes social relationships helping to satisfy a broader set of requirements, such as the need for company or cultural activity in the forms displayed. The second one denotes affiliations that provide 'access to clout and influence' (ibid). It was this leverage function of social capital that what was at stake for residents seeking to tap a rising community for their work context locally maintained. In order to create publicity that would raise the profile and visibility of their organisations, they depended on enlisting an array of local supporters.

David had only recently moved to the area, after being attached to it in an occupation-related way for more than two years. As a financial consultant of a large German real-estate agency he had been commissioned to supervise the opening of a new branch in HafenCity. This included assessing how susceptible the local population was for using the services of the agency roughly a year in advance of its opening. He was fascinated by finding that HafenCity 'had the structure of a village, where everyone knows everyone' (ibid). The notion of the 'urban village' goes back to neighbourhoods found to be structured by spatially dense ties of familiarity among their inhabitants (Gans 1962; Jacobs 1961; Bell and Jayne 2004). These urban communities exemplified how spatial and social proximity could overlap in relationships of trust and a shared sense of belonging. A recent study of a Parisian arrondissement showed imaginaries of the urban village were prominent among middle class residents whose primary networks and activities pursued within them were concentrated in the neighbourhood. Shared affinities to place were stabilised in

joint visits to cultural and gastronomic amenities distributed over a confined spatial radius of action (Bacqué et al. 2015: 13).

For Dave, the registration of such familiarity based on physical closeness was appreciable. Getting to know a few active individuals would most likely get him in easy contact with a series of others, sparing him extensive work needed for introducing himself. Rather than starting off as the corporate representative whose business interests were immediately transparent, it made sense for him to reveal his identity more casually. He walked the area and struck up conversations on the way with people, some of which were likely to be residents. This was adopting a hands-on way of exploring an area more similar to an ethnographer guided by curiosity in a social setting (Agar 1996):

In the context of my job at the real-estate agency I had the task to coordinate the opening of a new branch in HafenCity. One of the associated topics were HafenCity's residential circles. And a topic to which I had committed myself was networks, and therefore after works, 'who are the people in HafenCity?' And so I ran about in the area, and this way I also got to meet Pete<sup>13</sup>. Then I once called him up and the we met up, and I asked him 'what is actually happening here?' So I toured the area in the classic manner.

(I-27: 1)

Actively promoted cohesion to place is reflected in the after work events David ran as occasions he used to hook up with HafenCity residents in a non-occupational context. When I asked him, he could not deny that this technique of familiarisation was also geared to his job-related task of building up networks (I-27: 1). Some parallels exist to higher executives who had chosen the redeveloped Docklands as a pied a terre for quick access to their jobs in London's financial districts. For them, career advancement had a lot to do with informal time spent with colleagues in after work socialising (Butler 2007: 774). For Dave, such networking was possible in a less confined manner. Well in advance he started to get a foot in the community, while the new branch of the real-estate agency was still in its preparatory phase. Strategies for securing new customers for the agency could be best developed on the basis of a profile assembled on residents' life styles and circumstances.

---

<sup>13</sup> Pete the news paper editor.

Since HafenCity's population had not been settled for generations, it seemed to be still susceptible to innovations introduced to the locale. This assumption is revealed in the accounts of another resident whose move to HafenCity was inseparable from her profession. Annette was a pastor coming from Berlin to Hamburg for coordinating a new kind of church project that had been advertised across Germany. This was the idea of an ecumenical community named *Brücke* ('Bridge'). The project was a novelty in Germany, as for the first time 17 individual Christian congregations would become united under one roof. Its building would include a housing community for a group of members envisaged to live together in a spiritually-oriented way (I-19: 7-8). As the pastor explained, the *Brücke* was essentially a clerical organisation 'in-the-making'. She drew parallels to HafenCity as something similarly developing from scratch:

The neighbourhood is the reason why we are here. First I and my team were offered some place of residence in a different neighbourhood, for bridging the time during which the ecumenical forum was built. But we wanted to be on site from the beginning. So we moved into our temporary flat in HafenCity, in order to follow what is happening here. We did not want to wait until the forum would be completed before moving to the area, and everyone would be asking 'what do these guys want here?' That's why we also hosted our first holy mass at the local Cruise Terminal<sup>14</sup> already three months after we moved in, where we had 500 visitors. And many of them were residents who were already curious, asking 'who are they, what kind of people are these?' And from this moment the doors of our shared flat were widely open to anyone who wanted to consult us.

(I-19: 2)

In order to mesh with and be well received by a residential population, Annette's ecumenical team had made sure to move to HafenCity timely. Before residents were well accustomed to each other they would be less likely to regard her group as strangers that would first need to stand the test. Her introduction of an innovative project to HafenCity did not only require organisational effort but also sympathisers potentially qualifying as its future members. Annette rapidly affiliated with key players in organised community life such as Sue from the Bergedorf-Bille

---

<sup>14</sup> A large multi-purpose hall located next to HafenCity's cruise boat harbour

Cooperative (I-19: 3). Rather than monetary profit the resource for her at stake was recognition as a subform of social capital - recognition for her pastoral counselling service provided for the local community. Recognition is a resource that cannot be presupposed to exist in social relationships but is earned through demonstrative performance (Lin 2001: 156, 158). As Miller (2011) argued, their professional involvement in care and community services privileges pastors as recipients of recognition over other occupational fields. Religious organisations have 'a long history of establishing schools, social service agencies, and responding to crisis situations' (ibid: 259). This observation evidently also matched Tom, the other pastor with more longstanding local affiliations through his involvement in the school centre.

Annette's mass, that had attracted several hundred spectators, exemplified the significance of a rising community as a reservoir for social capital. Visitors to HafenCity and curious residents could be tapped by someone like Annette with local work-relations. The same applied to residents active as local merchants. For retailers, or those considering to open a restaurant, HafenCity's principle of reserving ground floors for stores and other services was an unprecedented opportunity. It enabled the spatial conjunction of living and working. Particularly in the sections where ground floor units were split into a shop floor on the street side and living area on the back, new arrivals opened shops and restaurants, thereby reinterpreting the concept of the artist's loft (Zukin 1982; Podmore 1998, and in new urban developments: Bounds 2006: 104; Kloosterman 2012: 77). HafenCity's very first store, a news agents', was opened up by a male couple living in one of these live-work units on Kaiserkai (spiegel.de 2007). The two proprietors availed themselves of the situation that HafenCity still had no supermarket. By expanding their product range to groceries, liquors and even toiletries, the store became a first focal point for the routine activities of those living close by; its products catered to daily needs of provision and as a place where locals ran into each other it promoted neighbourly gossip.

Rose, an advertising agent, was also living in one of the ground floor units combining a shop floor with a flat. In this space facing the street she ran a small advertising agency as a walk-in office. For her, HafenCity figured as a reservoir of clients, while she was very upfront about the area's aptitude for making profits:



I have a massive influence on this neighbourhood, I would say. Through the campaigns I do here (...). And that is HafenCity. No matter what you do here, it will be a success. We are now doing these various campaigns, like these flyers, with which we earn a bit of money. We will be hosting a ball next year, the first ball night in HafenCity. A radio programme is soon to come - I'll be running *HafenCity Radio*. All of this is going well. You can do anything here, and make money with anything.  
(I-32: 16)

The various activities Rose mentions were conducted with the help of affiliates. These were self-employed business people running ground floor services like her, most of which also lived in the district. She had drawn together these affiliates in a voluntary initiative named *HafenCity Businessport*. Through this platform, Rose delivered little promotion actions to support the street's shop owners struggling to survive in an incipient area. This mainly encompassed the production of flyers that advertised the local shops as a service providing Rose with a surplus income to that made through her advertising business. The *HafenCity Business Port* was a token case of local self-help associations in which instrumental relationships and friendships intersected. This convergence of interpersonal relationships was facilitated by business people simultaneously being neighbours. Shared interests, not exclusively but frequently related to their business orientation, had been discovered on various backyard and flat parties. Affection for each other had prompted joint outings for dinner, cinema and bowling evenings. The friendships developed out of previous neighbourly affiliation enabled business people to support each other in a more personalised way than if they had only been connected on a professional level. Instead of charged services the *Businessport's* activities were respectively also defined by occasional voluntary favours exchanged among befriended merchants.

Rose's integration into HafenCity's existing networks was slightly different from Annette's. As a business person, Rose was less dependent on relations of trust and confidence as a currency Annette contrarily relied on. While Annette was providing charitable services, Rose was selling a commercial service. Besides running the 'Businessport', she had created a merchandise label analogously named *HafenCity Merchandise* for selling a scale of HafenCity-related souvenirs: key tags, chrome vases, T-shirts, rain jackets and a plush toy rabbit wearing a shirt with the imprint 'I love HafenCity'. In a new district regularly invaded by tourists, such place-

related merchandise would possibly also help boost the shop sales of Rose's colleagues. For running these businesses, Rose did not depend on the support of locals in the way Annette did. Her activities focused on expanding her network of customers and business relations. Her affinities to locals gravitated around a small circle of business people in a similar start-up position like her.



Image 6.6      HafenCity Business Port & HafenCity Merchandise. (Source: author's photo)



Image 6.7 Souvenirs from HafenCity Merchandise. (Source: author's photo)

Annette, on the contrary, illustrates one of the rare cases where residents had scope not only for social but also environmental place-making. During her excursions through the area, she had come across an architect living in the building next to hers. When she explained she was thinking of a chapel as a temporary access point prior to the completion of the ecumenical forum, he willed in to contrive a plan for a building. Annette's summary of the building process is revealing:

The architect drew a layout. The chapel opened its doors on December 6<sup>th</sup>. Between June and December I developed ideas, searched for sponsors, while the chapel was being built. It was work-in-progress<sup>15</sup>. He had a basic idea and I and my team then were always standing at the building site and were asking ourselves 'shall we now paint the ceiling or not? No, we'll leave it as it is.' (I-19: 2)

The ad-hoc manner in which Annette organised the small building project suggests why the talent of clerical agents in enlisting volunteers (social capital) may

<sup>15</sup> Annette's use of this expression in its original English form stresses the unplanned nature of the building project.

make up for their lack in financial power (economic capital). As it turned out, Annette and her team had practically no budget to finance the construction of a chapel. This 'lack' was then originally integrated by the architect into the design plan. As he stated 'I tackled the assignment philosophically...when it turned out that they had practically no money at all I said, "alright, I have to turn this having-no-money into the architectonic concept"' (I-1a: 7). In this vein, a cubicle was assembled over a few weeks from building material leftovers scraped together. Glass plates for the façade came from a construction firm the architect called up. He knew most building projects resulted in spare parts due to miscalculated planning. For the interior design Annette analogously availed herself of the situation that bits and pieces left from HafenCity's construction sites were abundant. An artist who had embellished HafenCity's promenades with sculptures donated a ship's plank he no longer needed, a board that now served the chapel as an altar table. As supports for the altar she used two bollards from a harbour basin sponsored by the HCH on request. Despite its minimalism of scrap components, the completed glass box provided high functionality. Beyond serving for sermons and introductory talks on the ecumenical project, Annette soon used the chapel of barely 60 square meters size (dw.com) for hosting seminar series on global equity and business ethics (I-19: 4). A small number of attending residents endorsed the idea of the ecumenical housing project and signed up as members that would move into the new building on completion.

I sketched how for CEO Bruns-Berentelg, part and parcel of an urbanity he was seeking was the recognition residents receive through their contributions made toward a place with a public character. While the pastor's efforts were arguably inseparable from her occupational goals, her merit was defined in her mobilisation of residents for a building project with a genuinely public use; the architect deserved credits through his voluntary design of the chapel building and the provision of construction material (almost) free of charge<sup>16</sup>. As I experienced during my own fieldwork, the finished chapel was popular for short visits by residents, tourists and local office workers during their breaks. Such people were seeking a few minutes of silence and contemplation, came for a short prayer or simply for lighting a candle.

---

<sup>16</sup> As he told me, he accepted a very small allowance from Annette that was far below the costs for procuring the material (I-1a: 7).

The ecumenical residential building, in turn, was envisioned as a lived experiment that would unite various denominations in one household. On completion it would also incorporate a public prayer room and a fair trade cafe. Presented as a 'pioneer project' by the HCH in its newsletters, this forum tied into wider discourses around HafenCity as a place setting new urban trends (HafenCity 2009: 3).



Images 6.8; 6.9; 6.10 (starting clockwise from top-left) A chapel built from scrap material.  
(Source: [www.oekumenisches-forum-hafencity.de](http://www.oekumenisches-forum-hafencity.de))



## 6.8 Innovation of place and pioneer rhetoric

Particularly residents who had moved in before the availability of service provisions on Kaiserkai recalled this time as one of 'pioneers'. At the same time, their use of the term was inconsistent. People like Max, founder of the online forum, associated it with outgoingness residents displayed toward each other in order to restore some sense of habitability of the home:

Today you cannot really speak any longer of a pioneer spirit. But two to three years ago it was still different. There was still no infrastructure, no green, no shops, and so forth. You relied on saying 'who do I know here? Who is nice? On who can I, let's say, lean on to a little bit'? People were looking how they could supply themselves with each other's help somehow. And this way of course the contacts came about and the networking  
(I-39: 3)

Others adopted the term to capture a feeling of optimism about their new destination. Residents ready to move to a huge building site where proper roads and shops were still missing were seen to more readily embark on a new situation than 'regular' people. A retired couple that had moved to the Bergedorf-Bille Cooperative recalled how a new destination many had simultaneously sought was a factor easing the process of hooking up with each other:

husband: The four years we have lived here are like an entire 30 lived elsewhere. The people we met here, we would have never met them so quickly in other places.

wife: This is a new district, and the majority of those moving here were saying 'we are building something up here.' This was in people's heads. 'We are building a community.'

husband: We felt like pioneers.

(I-22: 12)

Others, in turn, recalled the readiness with which residents had helped fixing up each other's flats on arrival and had made each other feel homely:

In the case of our house, we got to know each other during the construction phase. But there was a certain connection between tenants beyond this phase. Building deficits had to be corrected, and helping each other settle in...a certain pioneer spirit that brought people together.  
(I-38: 3)

A business person like Rose, by contrast, interpreted the situation of moving to a place marked by construction works as a chance for self-actualisation. Her advertising agency, business network and merchandise store, were the outcome of taking a place without established social structures as a chance. Rose was the first one to offer such services, seizing the moment to occupy a market segment before others would - what economists call a 'first-mover advantage' (Lieberman and Montgomery 1988). Beyond her own case, Rose purported a collective residential identity for HafenCity:

This quarter attracted particular kinds of people. These are all pioneers here. I mean you actually have to be nuts when you move to such a construction site. We did not know whether a store will really come here, gastronomy, whether you can buy yourself anything here? There was simply nothing there. We just all moved along with a few ideas.  
(I-32: 5)

Rose rated anyone moving to a residential place that was in a provisional state as bold and daring. Such incomers had accordingly been impelled by visions that enabled them to reevaluate uncertainty of place as an invitation for personal advancement. This suggests that corporate representations of the pioneer gentrifier as a 'romantic figure associated with optimism, expectation, and progression' (Lees 1996: 459) are not altogether far-fetched. More plausibly, media accounts drawing on such comparisons seem to have oriented themselves to one particular version of gentrifiers, from which they then unduly extrapolated.

Only a minority of my interviewees actually dropped the pioneer term. Those who did referred to a time most of those presently living in HafenCity only knew from stories. Some individuals were widely known by their names, as they had been founders of local initiatives - the online forum, the cooperative meetings, the gazette etc. These people typically figured as drivers of the familiarity existing today between a cohort of residents who had simultaneously moved into newly completed buildings. These accounts notwithstanding, it does not become clear from where

exactly locals derived the term pioneer as a rather opaque descriptor for particular individuals. We cannot reconstruct whether this self-image has actually been fostered by residents appropriating corporate narratives on HafenCity, in which case institutional forces fostering a residential habitus would have been at work (Davidson 2007). Although a majority knew of the existence of the HCH newsletters and its portray reports on building projects, only very few said they had read them.

While no tenable connections can be established between the marketing narratives and everyday language use, it is likely that residents and planning agents have mutually influenced each other. As I sketched, direct contact between residents and planners was fostered from an early stage in irregular presentation events at the information centre. Many of these encounters were not just controversial as in the traffic dispute, but also dialogical. When new building projects or institutions moving to HafenCity were being presented as the first of their kind - the 'first building cooperative' or the 'first school', their framing as 'pioneers' came naturally to mind. The notion of the pioneer exhibited by residents was far removed from its negative connotations exposed by Neil Smith (1996). There were no indicators that residents in some way regarded themselves as superior to other residential groups, such as their closest neighbours living in the Katharinenviertel. Arguably, they were also not subscribing to the arrogant adaption of the term by real-estate agents. Such a stance, from which other residential groups are being overlooked and reduced to a material requisite of place (Lees 1996: 459), would moreover have contradicted the nature of a new-build scheme. Here, the previous use had been chiefly industrial, not residential.

## **6.9 Conclusion**

HafenCity displays the residential remaking of former industrially used land. It is first-time residential occupation that is quite set apart from initial inner-urban resettlements within European metropolises in the 1960s and 70s. These cultural and economic reconfigurations of residential place by a small minority have over short or long led to a class transformation of inner-urban spaces (Smith 1996; Lees et al.



2008). The maturation of this process entailed financial reinvestments through market forces, while its initialisation was owed to individuals with rather different motives in mind than economic upgrading and gentrification. Such individuals are commonly termed as 'pioneer gentrifiers' for being the first to value the material fabric they inhabited as a symbolic asset. This entailed the preservation of externally exposed and made-to-measure rearrangements of interior structures, and could also expand into the introduction of new service landscapes (Dangschat 1991: 82-3; Bridge 2007: 39).

So how does HafenCity fit in here? Settlement into old inner city areas and into new ones like HafenCity contrast in ways that are not far to seek. Compared to dilapidated housing, developer-designed residencies do not only offer little reason for material re-adaptations. It is implied in the comparatively high price paid for such designer flats that personal input is not necessary, that occupants have no interest in investing additional energies (Davidson 2007: 503). I illustrated in the previous chapter that HafenCity's building quality and interior technology indeed came state of the art. This applied notwithstanding that those who had bought at an early stage of construction had some scope in their preferred arrangement of floor plans. Beyond such attention given to details of interior design, there were hardly any signs of a valuation of building designs or architecture as a form of symbolic distinction (Zukin 1982; Caulfield 1989). In remaining aspects, the material and social practices of early arrivals were curiously not so far removed from the ones pioneer gentrifiers undertook. As I showed these however played out in differing ways regarding residents' values, motivations and practices.

Middle class living patterns in new-build communities, as opposed to areas previously inhabited, have somewhat irritatingly been portrayed as inward-looking. Place is bought as a ready-made product that is simply consumed by wealthy households. Individual opportunities for gastronomy and retail are appreciated, while privacy is preferred over sociability with others in the area (Butler 2007; Butler and Robson 2003; Davidson 2009; Davidson and Lees 2005). In light of the various efforts to actively construct place and foster social ties in HafenCity, such depictions need to be put into perspective. In HafenCity, recreational interaction with neighbours was a dominant way of engaging with the neighbourhood. This did

include indulging in the pleasures of the waterfront promenade, such as by playing boules, and congregating in local restaurants. In such uses of the neighbourhood as a 'lifestyle ambience', HafenCity partially aligned to a consumption oriented version of urban dwelling documented for waterfront developments like Pyrmont-Ultimo, Sydney (Waitt 2004; Bounds 2006) the London Docklands (Davidson and Lees 2005), or Harbourside, Bristol (Boddy 2006).

Residents of waterfront new-builds have shown to generally lead a lifestyle centred on the private home, to have no particular interest in (Rosenblatt et al. 2009) or even try to reduce contact to neighbours to a minimum (Butler 2007) and to scarcely make use of neighbourhood facilities (Davidson and Lees 2005; Boddy 2007). Altogether, attachment to the neighbourhood and remains low. Regarding the richness of their associational life, HafenCity's early arrivals could be shown to deviate from these dominant depictions. At the same time, there was no evidence that residents, or even fractions among them, bore a metropolitan habitus. Such a habitus was identified as a disposition formed among professionals occupied in London's highly volatile global economy, where uncertainty about the future was a constant source of anxiety (Butler and Robson 2003; Butler 2007). Choosing life in an inner city environment was one solution sought for reconciling the resulting tensions between career and family life.<sup>17</sup> My data do not suggest HafenCity's incomers were in comparable living circumstances. This absence of the metropolitan habitus is explainable with a difference in labour markets. London's extent of integration into the global economy is very exceptional, generating employment patterns and living arrangements that are similarly atypical. Hamburg, by contrast, is far less globally oriented, while its lead position as a German and Northern European Port endow it with the status of a Beta-plus global city (lboro.ac.uk ).

Hamburg's significance as merely a second-tier city helps to explain why HafenCity's residents, despite their majority affiliation with the managerial-professional cohort (Butler 1997), did not subscribe to a lifestyle of global orientation and cosmopolitanism (Davidson 2007). Their place-making practices and routines were very much anchored in the immediate environs of the home, comparable to lifestyles of conventional gentrifiers (Bridge 2007). As I suggested,

---

<sup>17</sup> Family and children are a separate issue to be examined in the following chapter.

they were similar to Bridge's (2006: 1971; 2007: 39) 'community gentrifiers'. They endorsed sociability as a major asset of place and reproduced this sociability through intense deployment of their high amounts of cultural capital. A major deviation from these community gentrifiers - and pioneer gentrifiers at large - was once more their inability of investing sweat equity into building conversion. This however only applied to a narrowly defined form of conversion. As we saw, launching shops and service outlets was no uncommon practice, which naturally incorporated the adaptation of interior spaces. This was an example of sweat equity invested in infrastructure that again resonates with the material practices of pioneer gentrifiers (without the simultaneous endorsement of alternative product ranges directed against mainstream tastes). Authors like Ley (1996: 301), Zukin (1987) and Bridge (2007: 39) stressed the opening of independent and second-hand stores as an attribute of pioneers gentrifiers' anti-conformism.

My own research sample admittedly covers a selective fraction of residents. It is a selection that is however justified in view of grasping a smaller cohort disproportionally involved in place-making. These residents were highly visible in public and semi-public spaces due to their continuous efforts at networking and institution building. My illustrations of bottom-up place-making notwithstanding, the large majority of more inconspicuous residents remained hidden from my analysis. It is plausible that those not involved in local group life and initiatives were indeed in the majority, which was also the observation made by some interviewees with longstanding residential biographies.

## **7 Top-down and bottom up place-making: how it comes together in HafenCity**

### **7.1 Introduction**

In the course of HafenCity's residential occupation, the tasks of the development corporation were substantially expanded. As I traced in chapter five, this expansion marked a turning point in the routines of a planning agency. Confronted with its deficiencies in dealing with the concerns of an incoming population, creative solutions such as the introduction of an ombudsman had been sought. There was an overt disagreement over street design technically required in the view of planners, and the aesthetic sentiments toward spatial design taking priority among residents. An unbridgeable divide between planning technocracy and those feeling to be at its mercy eschewed in the insight that further to physical development, the new downtown required chaperonage of its social unfolding. Hitherto confined to questions on the scheme's technical realisation, the development corporation expanded its activity to governance, to measures of acting on its population and its relationship to the neighbourhood (Rhodes 1996; Chaskin 1999; Gualini 2010; Healey 2010; Verma 2010).

In this vein, what this chapter aims to exemplify for HafenCity is that 'in many cases the operation, even more than the structure of master-planned communities, creates the true difficulties' (Hyatt 2003-4: 46). I would add that such difficulties arise regardless of whether one is concerned with green field developments or more compact schemes forming individual urban districts as in this case. In the politics at this local level, classic top-down bureaucracies have in recent times been complemented by more heterogeneous associations between classic authorities, public sector institutions and voluntary agents. Such governance systems of multi-level collaboration aim to harness knowledge and skills distributed at the local level for tackling social problems concentrated in urban neighbourhoods (Blokland 2008). In newer governance contexts reaching to the neighbourhood level, the state seeks to strengthen a population's loyalties felt to its area (Miller and Rose

2008<sup>18</sup>). Collaborative governance approaches explicitly include the enrolment of those at whom policies are addressed for their integration into relationships that act supportive for them. Governance systems thus function inter alia as policy-oriented networks for the generation of social capital among residents of a neighbourhood (Blokland and Savage 2008: 147-48). Studies of local governance systems however tend to focus on disadvantaged areas where residents' sustenance depends very much on public agencies. In such contexts, gaining access to resources through political participation can indeed make a decisive difference for residents. For the materially secured population of a place like HafenCity, the significance of neighbourhood governance accordingly needs to be put into perspective.

The examples of three purpose-bound institutions co-inspired by the ombudsman will exemplify how in HafenCity, planners acted as conduits for residentially run associations. I argue that planners at the same time abstained from going as far as to decide over the form and substance of these associations. This ties in to a generalised finding on a contemporary stance adopted by urban policy regimes (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 2007): 'the city is founded on the mediating activity in the creation of networks, making it valuable in its own right, independently of the goals pursued or the substantive properties of the entities between which mediation is conducted.' Indeed, as Blokland and Savage note (2008: 3), when taken at face value, notions like 'network' and 'social capital' run danger of becoming misused as placeholders for justifying almost any policy measure. These legitimate caveats notwithstanding, it is exactly not this dimension of narrative I am interested in. Maintaining social capital as a concept with empirical vigour, I am instead looking at its actual workings within residential place-making under planners' influence.

In HafenCity, ombudsman Menzl acted supportive in the formation of neighbourhood social capital. His specific role repertoire unfolded in these formative processes will be carved out using the examples of three associations sustained in a bottom-up manner by voluntary agents: a sports club, a playground project, and a

---

<sup>18</sup> Theories on governance, as delivered by Miller and Rose and other scholars, are inspired by French philosopher Foucault's concept of *governmentality*, denoting the art of governing subjects in modern, liberal societies.

neighbourhood advisory board. While the ombudsman's degree of involvement in these associations matured over time, limits to his competencies became visible at an early point: the introduction of a voluntary sports club to HafenCity relied almost entirely on the resilience of lay agents coming from outside. The ombudsman's lack of influence became visible when a voluntary association required the same resources by which institutionalised organisations are sustained in order to function properly.

In cases where he was himself the initialising force, the ombudsman had more creative leeway. Establishing and sustaining an allegiance to one's home, neighbourhood, estate, is key to governmental strategies employed in residential communities (Miller and Rose 2008). The ombudsman operated by sensitizing specific target groups among residents for taking over responsibility for their dwelling environment. As studies have shown, specifically families are a group whose preference of the inner city over suburbia is coupled with tradeoffs; urban place becomes a matter of safety and suitability for children (Karsten 2005; Butler 2007). In this vein, parents with children in HafenCity became the first residential group that was invited to partake in the design of a facility in order to strengthen its ties to the local.

Booher and Innes (2002: 232) carved out how in their direct encounters with residentially run organisations, planners may become involved in various roles and with differing degrees of involvement. They can serve as participants, technical or support staff, facilitators, or advocates. In HafenCity, initiation of neighbourhood associations by planners was epitomised in an advisory board inspired and co-supervised by the ombudsman. His limits in handling conflicts between individual parties involved in this board will be linked to his self-definition as someone who had to remain equally available for all residents alike.

## **7.2 The intricacies of cooperation between planners and volunteers**

In the first few months after his arrival, Menzl pondered over ways to bring residents into contact with each other, as he was asking himself 'how can networks

be built up here, how can neighbourly life be further intensified?' (I-48: 2). In this vein, the 'networks' at the focus of this chapter involve social capital not arising chiefly among residents but formed by planning agents' intervention into their place-making practices. Menzl once explained to me that he had considerable scope for interpreting his role as an ombudsman. He had never received a job description with clearly spelt out tasks and duties. From his own perspective, he was not in the position to spell out scenarios on what a residential community was to be like:

Regarding this development process of a neighbourhood, you are ultimately dependent on active individuals, which you then stimulate, which you bring together. This depends very much on individual agents who take over. And these you need to find and then try to push them a little into a certain position, or support them a little from behind. (..) I am the one here who is pulling the strings in the background. That is how it is with most things. I always try to do this from the background and to leave the stage to others. That is actually the goal.  
(I-48: 10, 13)

More like a technical assistant than an 'author' in community building, Menzl saw himself as an agent jumpstarting prolific interactions. He was in this vein interpretable as a facilitator in the development of 'community social capital' (Blokland 2008: 159). His self-appointed role was a conductor of organisational processes for enabling associations to become viable in the first place. He was involved by initialising the functioning of groups, without going as far as to influence their programme or agendas. Once voluntary members had found together and gotten an organising process under way, he pulled out, remaining an observer ready to jump in with legal and practical advice when needed. Menzl then typically acted vicariously for the HCH as a consulter in face-to-face meetings with residents. Such service provision ties into discourses on social capital and its division into 'bonding' and 'bridging' capital going back to Putnam (2000) and applied to contexts of cooperation at the neighbourhood level by Blokland and Savage (2008: 148): bonding capital are strong ties of trust and reciprocity between people who are socially similar. Such clinging-together however fosters homogeneity and group closure and impedes individuals from obtaining resources lying beyond their familiar relationships. Bridging capital, by contrast, connects people beyond their own factions.

Urban policies have typically focused on the generation of bridging capital that is seen as superior in its ability to move people with confined resources 'ahead'. Individuals are believed to profit from their collaborations with planners, technical experts and a range of voluntary agents in accomplishing projects (Booher and Innes 2000: 176). In line with Blokland and Savage (2008: 147-48), I argue that the bridging capital individuals form in affiliations with planning agents does not automatically translate into an improved advancement of their interests. It is also the specific rationalities of the individuals involved that decide over the *workings* of this bridging capital, and its respective potential to act advantageous. This I aim to exemplify through the collaborative project of a voluntary sports club introduced to HafenCity.

The intricate founding process for a sports club in HafenCity marked the kick off to Menzl's proactive involvement in community development. Fred was a newcomer to neighbourhood life who was quite set apart from the residents portrayed so far. Beyond his main occupation he had always been a passionate coach and co-manager of football teams at district league level. In light of Hamburg's newly developing downtown, he had been wondering whether any considerations of a sports club had been made and had rung up the HCH for clarification. Menzl knew about a Bille-Cooperative resident who was similarly looking for an opportunity to volunteer as a sports coach. He invited both parties to a meeting, to which Fred came along with two of his befriended football coaches. Fred, and Mike the Bille-resident, agreed that starting with a football team would be most effective for getting any sports activity under way. In order to enable matches against other teams, it however became necessary to integrate the football division into an official sports association. For founding such an association, a minimum of seven volunteers had to be found<sup>19</sup>, dovetailing with the search for 'active individuals' as one of Menzl's self-imposed tasks.

In the now following procedure of finding volunteers for establishing a sports club as a formal organisation, planning agents intervened as facilitators. At the same

---

<sup>19</sup> In Germany, all sport groups that want to become members of leagues and take part in competitions are legally required to form an 'eingetragener Verein (e.V.)', a 'registered association.'



time, the ombudsman's scope for action would be very much restricted to the convening of follow-up meetings rather than in promoting the actual realisation of the club. This became problematic when his affiliation with the development corporation raised false expectations, and the sports club founders pushed him to act more on their behalf. Menzl recalled how he found himself in a defensive position at the very first meetings:

We were all sitting in my office. My idea was to immediately toss the ball back to the volunteers. So I suggested, 'okay then you need to form a registered association.' And then we discussed how this could be practically done, and how seven members could be found. And at the beginning there was a very strong attitude of entitlement among Fred and his sports colleagues, in the sense 'Come on, *you* guys are HafenCity, you need to plan a sports court here. When will it be ready? Otherwise we can't do anything, so go, go go!'

(I-48: 27)

Menzl's repeated pleas for more patience resembled the dilemma of a spokesperson sympathetic to bottom-up initiative, while all he could do was to wait for decisions to be made at higher levels in charge. In the view of Fred and his colleagues, all this reflected was lacking commitment of a complacent development authority:

In one of our meetings, Menzl once told us 'this all requires development.' And one of my colleagues retorted 'I can no longer listen to your blabber. Until now this was all just empty talk from your side, nothing more. You know what, then we don't need you to take part in this any longer, if you have no interest in it, if we need to do everything by ourselves.' And then Menzl was aggrieved for a while, as he didn't appreciate this criticism at all.

(I-55: 14)

The quotes signify an incompatibility in the styles of negotiation that accompanied the founding phase of the club, and which was among the factors impeding its smooth realisation. Employed for decades in customs declaration, Fred had affiliations to the port area long before its re-designation into HafenCity territory. The two befriended sports club co-founders he brought to each meeting were occupied as a chef and bricklayer respectively. These were personalities with a working class habitus that shared little in common with the bourgeois clientele

characterising HafenCity. For Fred and his colleagues, sincerity ranked higher than notions of a good atmosphere and a polite tone sustained in group interactions. As Fred explained to me once, he was occasionally missing honesty in the mode of conduct among HafenCity residents he knew from various meetings. In his view, this led to an unbearable ambiguity in local relationships (I-55: 5; 16-18). Some residents were apparently afraid that being upfront in discussions would impair the relationship as neighbours they were equally entertaining. Fred revealed a clear understanding of the role conflicts that could arise between people working together and simultaneously living door on door.

The founding process of the sports club, named *Störtebeker* after Hamburg's legendary pirate<sup>20</sup>, was indeed sluggish and perturbed several times. As the club's first coach, Mike had succeeded in setting up a football team comprised of school mates of his son. But then he and his wife who was also among the founding members were caught up in a marital dispute. Mike moved away from HafenCity and withdrew the children from *Störtebeker* for establishing his own football team, thereby disgruntling Fred. It was one of the comical stories in neighbourhood life where an initiative co-founded by residents soon found itself devoid of any of them. The sports club's sustenance was instead secured by individuals with attachments that were less territorially defined. These were welfare-sector professionals affiliated to the development scheme through their supervision of building projects with a charitable purpose. As their activities also shared in common an emphasis on adolescents as a group in particular need of care, it was only a question of time until their paths would cross. Tom the pastor needs no further introduction. He and Fred met at the first welcome-festival for HafenCity residents Menzl hosted at the end of 2007. The event was a further instance in which the ombudsman acted as a conduit for bringing together the right kind of people for productive cross fertilisation. A further agent coming into play was Carl, who Tom had met at the seminar series he hosted under the name 'Compatibility of Family, Career and Childcare.'<sup>21</sup> Beyond his management of a drug consultancy for youth, Carl was setting up the *Stadthaushotel*,

---

<sup>20</sup> See chapter 4.2.1.

<sup>21</sup> see chapter 5.3.

a showcase hotel project that would employ impaired together with unimpaired staff<sup>22</sup>.

As Fred recalled, effective collaboration between him and his two companions for jumpstarting the sports club was grounded in their shared conviction that urban development was obliged to social inclusion. This posture attunes to urban scholars' vision of 'cities for the many, not the few' (Amin, Massey and Thrift 2000):

We all got to know each other better through urban development, because we said 'we need to bring in the Old and New Town here...it may be nice that the people in HafenCity all have lots of money and are buying flats, but there also has to be a surplus for the neighbouring districts, so that these are not entirely forgotten, especially the socially weaker, particularly the children.' And so we said, 'okay, we will do this in HafenCity through a sports club, with Carl who has experience in youth consultancy, and is developing this Stadthaushotel. And with Tom who supported us in the youth work. When he had children around at his deaconry he sent them over to our football pitch. And when we had problems with children we conversely turned to Tom, asking him 'do you know their parents, what's the matter with these kids?' So from the beginning this was all not just sport but social work.  
(I-55: 2-3)

Tom's persistent appeals to the directorate of the school centre introduced belatedly to HafenCity secured the Störtebeker sports club scheduled training slots at the school gym. Carl, in turn, was invaluable for Fred in light of his immense experience in managing various drug and youth counselling projects. He gave advice on organisational details but also made donations in the form of jerseys and other sports equipment. Even though Störtebeker played in the official district league, it was a voluntarily run club relying on external funding through membership fees, sponsorships and donations. Fred's resilience over more than three years finally awarded him with an office from where my interview with him took place. Due to the early clash in the meetings with Menzl, negotiations between the two sides had come to a standstill. Fred could not conceal the joy about what he saw as a late triumph over the development corporation:

That was in 2008. And of course some at the HCH were now thinking 'they won't make it on their own. One day they will turn back to us and

---

<sup>22</sup> briefly mentioned already in chapter 5.4.

make inquiries. Without us they won't get any further.' How far we got is obviously visible here.  
(I-55: 14)

Fred's belated receipt of his own office in HafenCity was not owed to a forthcoming gesture on the side of the HCH. As Menzl himself stated, Fred had profited from an unforeseen turnaround in HafenCity's development approach. The global real-estate crisis setting in from 2008 had not left Hamburg untouched. Its reverberations had induced Hamburg's Senate to slow down the pace of market-oriented development in HafenCity and to allow for experimentation with alternative building conceptions. Instead of demolishing the last few unimposing port facilities that had remained from the area's past, these buildings were re-designated into a 'creative quarter' (HCH I). They were rentable by artists and start-up enterprises at drastically reduced price levels. Since Fred had long awaited such a chance to arise, he had been quick to reserve himself space in one of the buildings. Menzl appreciated that Fred had finally succeeded in finding an office. At the same time he found Fred had been premature with his persisting demands for on an office as something a fledgling organisation did not desperately require:

From the very beginning Fred kept saying 'we need an office.' And I mean they had no money, and no sports disciplines yet whatsoever. But his opinion was the first thing you need is an office. And I found this was not necessarily the first step to be taken. How things turned out now is good. But back then I found it was too early for an office.  
(I-48: 28)

Booher and Innes (2002: 225) suggested how in urban policy contexts, collaborations between experts and lay people signify *network power*: 'a jointly held resource enabling networked agencies or individuals to accomplish things they could not otherwise'. Looking at the founding process of HafenCity's first sports club (and moreover, the first sports club in Hamburg's city centre) such network power was discernible in the contributions made by a set of heterogeneous agents. By the same token, the delayed formation process suggests that the mere connection between agents supplied with differing resources does not per se translate into improved goal advancement.

I return Blokland's (2008) criticism of the unquestioned assumption of the socially advancing effects of bridging capital. Such capital is described as resources that 'encompass people over the borders of social cleavages' (ibid: 148). Quite contrarily, the tensions ensuing between the ombudsman and Fred's entourage displayed how in cross-cultural interaction such social cleavages were merely reproduced. As we saw, the resulting strained relationship did not contribute to bring social capital among the two parties to further fruition. Booher and Innes (2000: 176) argued that networked constellations lead to 'coordinated action, not because of rules, top-down control or even formal requirements for coordination, but because players develop shared understandings.' Regarding the frictions and subsequent gravitational shifts of activity within the founding network for the sports club, it was still a long way to such shared understanding. A class-related mismatch in communication styles constrained coordination, a factor not considered in the concept of 'network power'.

I nonetheless suggest that bridging capital did pay off for Fred, yet not according to the assumptions made about the effectiveness of multi-agent governance networks. Fred's integration into a policy-network crossing the boundaries between lay people and planners did not automatically help him pursue his project. Certainly, as a convenor Menzl had supplied Fred with useful contacts in the club's preparatory meetings. Beyond this initialising step, the ombudsman was hardly involved in the organisational process. His benefit for Fred derived exactly from his function as an entry point, a gatekeeper to a much wider circle of agents similarly invested in bottom-up place-making. Although Menzl became invested through consultations, his scope to help out in other ways was also restricted. Evidently he had no authority over planning decisions that would have allowed him to arrange for training and administrative facilities for the Störtebeker club. He was above all commissioned to attend to the entirety of social groups in the district, a contractual allegiance that restricted how much he could devote himself to particular individuals. By the same token, Fred profited from the ombudsman through accelerated acquaintance with others and consequent alliances with key institutional and voluntary agents. One of the derived gains of bridging capital for Fred was the privileged insider knowledge he gained through his new contacts mediated through Menzl. He could use this knowledge to his advantage, as he was informed in due

time about the plans for subsidised work space in HafenCity's new creative quarter. Rather than as a sponsor of funds or sports facilities, the development corporation's part played in the setup of the sports club was a convenor: It did not draw on its own monetary resources and decision making capacity to get things under way; it took measures to conjoin the resources of other local players, calculating that forces for constructive collaboration would become unleashed.

While the ombudsman acted as an initiator of a neighbourhood organisation, his delegation of the further process to others involved reflects a trend toward 'open-ended ad hoc arrangements' replacing classic top-down bureaucracies (Versteeg and Hajer 2010: 161). Menzl abstained from setting and defining these tasks himself in tune with his ideal to allow productive interplay to unfold autonomously. Social capital was indeed generated for a volunteer coming from outside HafenCity in the course of his further acquaintanceships made. But this bridging capital had little to do with affiliations to a planning authority. Speaking with Weber (via Bokland 2003), these were ties of a 'value-rational' sort that enabled to create a connection between a socially committed working class individual and welfare-sector professionals. Their differing class backgrounds were bridged through shared convictions about the significance of social work as an integral part of urban development. Owing to Fred's resilience and his two main supporters helping him to secure sponsorships and training facilities, Störtebeker soon expanded its repertoire beyond the football division. Beyond fitness and karate, a discipline particularly popular with HafenCity's parents was P.E. for their youngest. As the demand soared, the club was urged to expand the service to a second and third group trained at the school gym (I-45: 9). This significance of a local sports facility for children moves HafenCity's youngest population group into the focus of attention.

### **7.3 Reinforcing attachments to place through participative planning**

Research on middle class families with children living in downtown settings is not extensive. Particularly for dual-incomers, shorter distances between the home, work place, and childcare facilities improve the reconciliation of work and family

life (Warde 1991: 229; Kern 2010). This increased flexibility goes hand in hand with an inner-city environment that is stimulating for adults but may be less suitable for children. Poor and ethnically mixed inner-urban areas with a reputation for crime are not exactly spaces where children would be left to play unsupervised (Butler and Robson 2003). While heavy traffic presents a constant source of danger for small children (Karsten 2003: 2576; Matthews 2003: 107; O'Brien 2003: 159), the lack of open and green spaces in densely built areas restricts opportunities for action-oriented playing activities (Lees 2003: 71; O'Brien 2003: 153). At the same time, these challenges are taken into account by many parents in light of the opportunities inner-urban life offers in comparison to the suburbs, signified in its cultural amenities, access to child care networks and good connectivity (Karsten 2003; Haase et al. 2009: 455).

How were the relationships of families in HafenCity to their environment? During my fieldwork the fraction of households with children was 12% (Breckner and Menzl 2012: 137). This number was not overwhelming, but as sociologist Menzl stressed, generally corresponding to that in other established middle class neighbourhoods surrounding HafenCity<sup>23</sup>. My sample of 55 households incorporated eight with children, amounting to a proportion of 17.7% which is thus slightly above the district average. With the exception of two at primary school age, all children were below the age of seven. While all households had moved along when they already had or were about to have a child, opinions on HafenCity's suitability for children were mixed. Regarding its environmental qualities, parents found HafenCity to be an exciting and stimulating place for their children. Appreciated were the generously designed non-motorised spaces, and more interestingly, fascinations for children arising from the area's construction activity:

Our son pretty much finds everything exciting here. When a bus drives by, he calls 'bus, bus!' The trains he also finds interesting. And he is of course fascinated by the construction works.  
(father of a toddler; I-25a: 6)

---

<sup>23</sup> the numbers for surrounding inner-city neighbourhoods, quoted from Breckner and Menzl (2012: 137) are respectively: Neustadt/Winterhude: 11% each, Eimsbüttel 12%, Hoheluft-West/Ost: 13% each.

Of course there is no green here and few spaces you can freely appropriate. So this basic criterion you usually set for children's spaces is not available here. But likewise there are other things here. There is the storm flood for instance. This is fantastic and interesting to watch for children. To go down to the harbour bank and collect jetsam...this you can do for instance on the Marco-Polo Terraces. There you will find building-site helmets, dead fish...that is fantastic for kids. It is also great for them to walk through the building sites.  
(father of three pre-school children; I-14: 10-11)

I don't think that an area always needs to be 'homely' in order to be good for children. Children have a different perception on these matters. For them it's simply great when they can do things. When they can jump down from somewhere, hop around. It also doesn't necessarily need a playground for that, or spaces that are contrived for that purpose. Places where they can do things, I think that's what HafenCity has.  
(father of two pre-school children; 1a: 9)

While the local environment was rated as appreciable by the fathers<sup>24</sup>, it is an appreciation that also defies conventional views about what is suitable for children. Children appear to enjoy environments for their quality of experience (sensory and bodily) and less, as is commonly assumed, for their fixed features of design. Such qualities arise with the double-nature of HafenCity as a harbour ambience and building project alike. Children were fascinated by the constant motion and unusual material aspects integral to such an environment. There are parallels between this children's perception and the elective identification with HafenCity among many adults. After all, the richness of sensory experience given with a harbour setting was what had motivated a majority to move along. On a more general level, it reflects how the urban vibrancy that gentrifiers have quoted as a key advantage over suburban monotony may equally become valorised as an asset of place by children. O'Brien (2003: 155) notes on London's inner-urban residential areas: 'The activity, business and noise of cities with the presence of other children, shops, roads, cars, tubes and buses can create a buzz and immediacy for children in the urban centre lacking in less urbanised environments.'

On the other hand, a substantial fraction of parents emphasised the strains HafenCity was putting on family life. Curiously, exactly the bustle they themselves

---

<sup>24</sup> Fathers were not prioritized over mothers in interviews with parents. It is coincidental that on this aspect of children's use of space, they were the more active respondents.



appreciated so much as a preference of place became associated with downsides for their children. In two cases parents admitted that the water basins with their strong currents made it impossible to let children play unattended (I-34: 12; I-14: 11). Such preoccupations over safety have been similarly reported for Amsterdam's redeveloped docklands, where some parents even equipped their toddlers with life vests (Karsten 2003: 2580-1). As much as a HafenCity couple was excited by the sensations of a harbour environment, they found it came with downsides that were seriously overtaxing their small children. While railings lining the promenades offered some protection against falling into the water, the spaces between the bars were still large enough for children to slip through. This observation frequently alarmed the two when they looked down from their flat onto the outdoor terrace of a restaurant located on the quay promenade:

Particularly down there at the Quayside<sup>25</sup>, where people sit with their coffees and don't always have an eye on their kids....I frequently see children play at the railing, and sometimes even on the other side, close to the edge of the quay...where I sometimes then almost feel urged to call the police or do something, because I've also seen children alone without their parents.

(Adrian, father of three children; I-34: 12)

While Adrian also criticised that HafenCity's first larger rectangular green area was inappropriately marketed by the HCH as a park for residents, visitors and children alike, his greatest worries were health hazards. Gazing at carriers and cruise ships passing by the living room window was one thing; exhaust fumes were another, particularly when windows were kept open during the warmer months. Fearing that in the worst case their children might one day get lung cancer, Adrian and his wife abandoned HafenCity four years after arrival and moved to a leafy suburban town. This decision was made half-heartedly. In his evaluation of HafenCity, Adrian resonated with households enjoying city life, for whom a lack of tranquillity poses no problem until children come into play. He noted HafenCity was 'always exciting, but never relaxing' (I-34: 5). Adrian estimated that the local strains on family life had meanwhile induced up to a third of family households to leave the neighbourhood.

---

<sup>25</sup> The same Quayside dealt with in chapter 6.

For some, it was out of mere financial reasons (ibid: 13). When a third child was on its way, not even dual-earners could afford one of the few available flats with more than four rooms in an upscale housing district.

In such cases, HafenCity tied in with gentrifier households who, with the arrival of children, realise they can no longer maintain their preferred life style (Christensen and O'Brien 2003; Lees 2003). The inevitable relocation to suburbia is profoundly anathema to their urbane orientations (Caulfield 1988; Ley 1996). That families with small children were similarly urged to leave HafenCity due to its inconveniences is telling when it is considered that this was the sociodemographic group to which most attention was directed by developers from an early point. This did not just apply in terms of being provided with a kindergarten and primary school, institutions that found parents' general approval (despite that most could not judge on the school as their children were below school age). Parents were also the first residential group the HCH actively targeted for participation in urban planning. This would occur through an elaborate play ground project co-designed and subsequently administrated by parents. The project at the same time marked the onset of Menzl's increased level of activity as an instigator of residents' involvement in place-making. Adrian recalled the enrolment of parents by the development corporation:

We were asked per letter by Dr. Menzl if we did not want to participate in the design of a playground. And when we arrived there, it was as so often with the HCH - everything was perfectly prepared I really have to say. We thought we would now be discussing about individual playing devices, and they presented three fully conceptualised layouts of landscape architects. We were asked to evaluate which one's we favoured and to rank the devices according to our preferences. And this was a well made process. We were then asked to also let our children at home evaluate with sticky tags which playing devices they wanted. And the children at the primary school were also asked. And from all these opinions a very nice playground was designed. And there was just a really good atmosphere, a dynamically good atmosphere where you felt you were being involved.  
(I-34: 8)

Positive acknowledgement of the development corporation's policy is revealed in expressions of appreciation - 'as so often...perfectly prepared' and 'well made process', and 'you felt you were being involved.' In newer governance contexts reaching down to the neighbourhood level, the state seeks to strengthen the loyalties

among residents and to their immediate area (Miller and Rose 2008). Work may however be required to stimulate explicit feelings of belonging to a geographical setting, so that allegiances tend to always be in some way externally forced. In order for individuals to feel as members of a collective, as part of an imagined community, they are engrossed by 'educators, campaigns, activists, manipulators of symbols, narratives and identifications' (Miller and Rose 2008: 92).

In line with the father's enthusiasm expressed in the quote, I suggest that such feelings of attachment to one's place of residence were fostered by HafenCity planners' adoption of the principles of 'mobilisation', 'participation' and 'empowerment' (ibid): parents were given the feeling that they were important and had real influence in the shaping of their environment. The inclusion of children into the design process of the playground project signalled these were seriously acknowledged as stakeholders by the developer. With the prospect of accelerated urbanisation over the next decades and subsequent decimation of spaces for children to unfold, practically oriented scholars have analogously stressed the need to include children more than ever in development processes: 'A participatory planning process makes professionals more aware of children's agency, the validity of their spatial claims and their contribution to the enrichment of city life' (Karsten 2003b: 297).

The extent of participation in the play ground project gained momentum when the idea came up to expand it into a more elaborate project. Menzl appreciated the initiative coming from parents. By the same token, he emphasized that the additional support required would be granted under the condition that parents were prepared to also make concessions on their side:

We were discussing what playing equipment we could imagine, when a father came up with the idea for a *Spielhaus*<sup>26</sup>. He knew about one from St. Georg<sup>27</sup>. And the idea was so well received that the playing house was among the items given the most points by the parents. And then we were encouraged by the HCH to set up this building as a parents' initiative.

---

<sup>26</sup> Roughly translatable with 'playing house', a *Spielhaus* is a sheltered cabin attached to a playground. Inside, children are offered various toys in a room large enough to assemble for occasions like birthday parties. In HafenCity's case the interior also encompassed cooking facilities, a toilet and a diaper changing table.

<sup>27</sup> An inner-city district close-by

And that worked really well. (...) The HCH supported us with assistance and advice, but they also made clear they would not hand us everything on the silver tray. The initiative would need to come from us for the house to result in something. They were not saying 'great idea, we will build that Spielhaus'. The house was to remain in the hands of the initiative.

(I-34: 8)

The father acknowledges the support supplied by the HCH which enabled to get the project under way. This included the sponsorship of the lion's share of the € 50,000 construction costs, and the overall monitoring of the building process through the ombudsman (ibid 10). Menzl drew together the technicians needed for the cabin's electricity, water and heating. By the same token, the father stresses the autonomy that was expected from the parents in terms of running and maintaining the building once it was set up. Martin, another father who was among the co-founders of the project, states the developer's position more bluntly:

The HCH played a major part by kicking the entire procedure off, and by ultimately forcing us a little to unite into some form of cooperation. They did this by saying 'okay we'll build such a Spielhaus, but we won't operate it', so that a certain initiative would be created by us that will run the project.

(I-14: 9).

By 'forcing' parents to cooperate, their attachments to place were reinforced not only because they were given decision making power; besides being co-authors in the design of the building and its main users, they were additionally commissioned to run a conceptual programme for the building. As a whole, these aspects reinforced parents' identification with their locality. The deal was made that the developer would assist technically and financially in the project implementation, while parents were made responsible for taking over its maintenance. This was a distant echo to the neo-liberal appeal to 'self-responsibility' through which authorities have sought to devolve governmental tasks to individuals in a 'newly privatised welfare regime' Peters (2001: 60). At the same time, personal involvement was arguably favoured by the parents. The idea to elaborate the play ground into a more sophisticated project had originated with them.



Image 7.1 A play ground co-designed by parents, with the wooden Spielhaus cabin painted blue and orange. (Source: author's photo)

Adrian assumed that after its initially strong technical assistance, Menzl's devolvement of supervision to the parents was a calculated measure:

This was well-considered in my view, even though we all would have initially preferred to use the building as we wished. But this way the network among parents expanded. You got to know other parents, with whom you then worked together on a joint project, which in turn fostered togetherness. I think this was exactly Menzl's goal. And it worked out perfectly.  
(I-34: 8)

Menzl continued to give advice on request but left the organisation of a committee that would administrate the Spielhaus completely to the parents. Regulations for taking up further parental members had to be sorted out, as well as time slots in which parents would volunteer to guard the children while they were at the playground. These steps for turning a physical infrastructure into a service outlet required collaboration between the parents, which in turn fostered their group solidarity. Adrian appreciates the expansion of a 'network' as one of the outcomes of

this process and accordingly positively acknowledges one of Menzl's self-imposed key functions as a facilitator of networks.



Image 7.2 Spielhaus: a weather and windproof cabin for children.  
(Source: author's photo)

The specialty of the Spielhaus project was its incorporation of a sheltered meeting place where children could not just play games but where they were also familiarised by parents and educators with various cultural activities. I discussed how investing in education is at the core of the identity of the new middle classes, as a means for social advancement as well as for self-affirmation as a class (Butler and Robson 2003: 30-31; Butler 1997: 31). While the primary route taken to this end is the choice of schools that lead to acknowledged educational credentials, involving children in sophisticated leisure and cultural activities is an informal means (Butler 1997: 31). The inner-city is advantageous for middle class family households not least because its concentration of amenities is conducive to cultural activities. At the same time, as Karsten (2002: 235) infers from her gentrification study on Amsterdam, the inner-city increasingly responds to the middle class as a growing consumer group and its 'stress on personal achievement'. The expansion and differentiation of services explicitly tailored to the youngest include children's theatre, book shops, and swimming for families, while specifically at the



neighbourhood level, 'play gardens' and 'play farms' have been set up for children's leisure activity after school. At the same time, public community centres offer sports activities and fine arts classes where children can drop in at varying times and for a small fee (ibid 235-6).

The HafenCity Spielhaus was a project that united such features of leisure and learning and in this sense catered to playing activities that have an added value for children in the eyes of parents. This is revealed is the early co-involvement of children; asking for their opinions attuned to the idea that judgment and other cognitive capacities were skills to be honed from an early age. In light of this, I argue that through the nature of this participatory planning process, planners actively contributed toward successful middle class reproduction. The expectation that the Spielhaus would be actively maintained challenged the parents to mobilise their educationally derived resources in creative ways. A mother of a son also attending the local kindergarten remembered, 'we were expected to carve out a concept - which was also fun, but stressful, super stressful' (I-45: 13). Implied in the ombudsman's calculation was that the cabin would not be randomly visited for coffee meetings and playing board games with children, but that parents regarded it as a service facility that had to be *maintained*.



Image 7.3 Inside the Spielhaus. (Source: author's photo)

The Spielhaus cabin privileged children to play together over longer times without interruption, since it provided the basic services for which they normally would have had to return home<sup>28</sup>. Further to this, the Spielhaus became one of the many means parents draw on to foster the cultural capital of their children. A feeling of responsibility initialised during the discussion over its design concept was brought onto a higher level with the imperative to also conceive a conceptual programme for the project. Such a commitment implied parents were not just individual users but also collective administrators of the building, requiring coordination as a group.

That education was key to the idea of successful social reproduction already at the pre-school phase became evident in the use programmes contrived for the cabin. Beyond enabling the joys of playing, parents took care to also host activities that could be used to assess potential propensities and dispositions of their toddlers. Social get-togethers then did not only serve adults for the exchange of experiences and advice on child-rearing issues. While they certainly met mutual needs for sociability both among adults and children, these occasions simultaneously worked as familial support structures. Most households at stake here were composed of dual-earners, who had limited opportunities for socialising beyond work and childcare obligations. Through scheduled events hosted at the Spielhaus on which its founders had agreed, it was ensured that at least a few parents would come together once or twice a month. One such recurring occasion was a monthly supper jointly attended by parents and children. Unsurprisingly pastor Tom, for whom childcare was at the heart of the new district's social empowerment, was involved from the beginning. Time was reserved before the meals for children's intellectual stimulation. Tom played some songs on his guitar and afterwards read stories to the children. According to one of the attending mothers, this programme was well received: 'of course the children keep playing in parallel with the game board they have there, but in fact they listen very devotedly, no matter which books belonging to his own children Tom drags along' (I-45: 13).

---

<sup>28</sup> The optimism infusing so many of the local neighbourhood initiatives once again included a claim to social inclusiveness: the play ground was permanently open also to parents and children visiting HafenCity. On its website, the Spielhaus also advertised its usability for occasions such as children's birthday parties, for a small contribution toward costs.



Further to such impromptu animations, parents also invested in more structured educational training. *Musikgarten* was an ensemble of music pedagogues and actors hired to familiarise the children with the basics of the Orff Music system (I-45: 14). A professional drama group was hired to perform for the children, and English courses were run several times. In the latter case the feedback however dwindled after a while, when it turned out most children were too young to keep pace (I-45: 14). After all, such cultural services had to be purchased through the market. They were not covered by 60 Euros membership fee<sup>29</sup> parents paid annually for unlimited access to the cabin. It was indeed cultural rather than economic capital by which such parent networks were sustained. Yet, the investments made to endow the Spielhaus with an educational surplus value were conditioned on a certain level of income. While middle class professionals tend to be restricted in their financial capacities, previous studies have shown that it makes sense for them to 'cut back' on their own consumption demands for being able to best possibly expose their children to cultural assets (Butler 1997; Butler and Robson 2003). Households who had joined the Spielhaus association as members typically included at least one professional. This implied income levels were generally sufficiently high in order to allow for such financial concessions on behalf of one's children.

In the sheltered play ground project, place-making was inextricably linked to needs arising with life cycle stage (familial upbringing). Parents' elective belonging to HafenCity was considerably reinforced by their involvement into an elaborate participation process. In this process the planner achieved several things. Young parents were a local group sharing in common an interest in facilities that were in close reach of their homes. By being incited to themselves organise such a facility, not only the links between themselves but also those to their local environment were reinforced. This attuned to the planner's vision of residents as active place-making agents. The second thing achieved by the development corporation was its acknowledgement by the parents as an authority that was sensitive to residents'

---

<sup>29</sup> This membership fee entitled to individual reception of a key for permanent accessibility of the Spielhaus. Membership fees were foremost necessary for covering the cabin's utilities, its cleaning service and replenishment of diapers and toilet paper (I-34: 11-12).

concerns. This acknowledgement, displayed in the parents statements I quoted, indicated that the planner's strategy of strengthening residents' allegiance to 'a particular set of community values' (Miller and Rose 2008: 88) had been effective. Such values included readiness to volunteer, self-initiative, group spirit, and responsibility, all of which translated into an opportunity seized for improving environmental conditions for familial reproduction.

As much as parents made use of the Spielhaus, either by co-organising events like birthday parties or simply by dropping by, they were remarkably absent from the remaining organised neighbourhood life. Residents with children were hardly seen at the monthly dinner group meeting or at the Bille Cooperative get-togethers, did not contribute content to the HafenCity gazette, nor did they co-organise events like the flea market. The main reason for this can be seen in the time-constraints of dual-earner family life. Parents generally conceded that child care filled out most of their spare time, so that activities pursued in the area were purposefully geared to also serve their children (I-1a: 8; I-14: 3; I-34: 12; I-37: 6; I-45: 9). At the same time, they were also not among those who stood out by making complaints about the area. As the following section will illustrate, parents' appreciation of the vibrant outdoor scenery was not shared across the board.

#### **7.4 Tensions between planned and lived urbanity: contestations over spatial use**

A conflict ensuing over the use of a local square revealed how divided residents were on HafenCity's spatial design conception. I hark back to the CEO's claims to an urbanity that is characterised by its public character. As discussed, developing the new downtown into an emancipatory sphere was at the heart of the CEO's convictions. For him, such emancipation was founded upon residents' active acknowledgement of the co-presence of others who were unlike themselves. Ideally, this included the readiness to engage in discursive negotiations over uses of space rather than just passively 'bearing' one another. Such an acknowledgement of HafenCity's highly public character precluded that individuals would extend their private claims as dwellers onto the spaces surrounding their homes.

In HafenCity's everyday life, this theoretical claim to an inclusive urbanity was more difficult to achieve. The issue at stake was a basketball hoop the HCH had installed in the centre of the square Vasco-da-Gama Platz. Scholars have grappled with an appropriate evaluation of residents' opposition to - both impending and manifest - sources of disturbance within range of their homes. While it is seductive to denounce resident protests as 'NIMBY'-type parochialism (not-in-my-backyard), this stance has been rejected as an unreflective condemnation that ignores individuals' claims and causes (Abram 2000: 352; van der Horst 2007; Wolsink 2007). While commonly opposition is directed against infrastructure seen to infringe on a local environment - related to energy, waste disposal, traffic, tourist resorts etc. (Martin 2004) - some has been targeted against the presence of specific social groups. In policy programmes devoted to residential diversity in Toronto, contention arose among condominium owners over the nearby introduction of social housing (August and Walks 2012: 293). Representatives of housing associations noted that condominium owners would 'not want to see diversity and difference in the city.'

Far from such ideological motives, the much more trivial reason that exasperated residents in HafenCity was ball bouncing noise. A pensioned couple living in a housing cooperative and a single woman living on the opposite side of Vasco-da-Gama Platz had teamed up in a signature campaign launched against the basketball hoop. For sure, the buzz from people sitting outside a deli and a bakery flanking the square had ever since ensured a seasonal ambient noise. But the popularity the newly setup basketball court immediately gained with teenagers and young adults attracted from all over the city was more than some could take. The campaign did not go unheeded. Its leaders could register it as a partial victory that CEO Bruns-Berentelg invited everyone to a meeting at the Bille common room to discuss the matter. The opponents however had to learn very quickly, that while the CEO had some sympathy for their case, they would not get their way. In my interview with him, Bruns-Berentelg unmistakably clarified that yielding to the campaigners would have been a betrayal of his convictions about urbanity:

What is decisive is that people come from outside HafenCity and can nonetheless play basketball here. This discussion will go on until I depart. The point is not that a few people playing basketball animate this square, but that due to their presence, social tensions are created. The social arc

of suspense in public spaces is extended beyond the claims to privatisation that residents make, and becomes acceptable as a component of a public place. And we want that those involved either leave the area, or alternatively say 'I regard the situation here as an element of the urban context in which social interaction is indeed taking place.'  
(I-46 15)



Image 7.4 Basketball on Vasco-da-Gama-Platz. (Source: author's photo)

Coming from the chief planner of a scheme profoundly predicated on residential use, the last statement appears almost radical. The CEO suggests the frictions ensuing between spatial uses is part and parcel of a lifestyle residents have chosen. Individual's sensitivities are subordinate to the higher good of urban diversity - not the other way round. While high occupancy rates of HafenCity's residential plots are of prior interest to a planner, they were secondary to the more universalistic vision for a new downtown. This position, which the CEO also exhibited toward the signature campaigners, suggested that his subscriptions to wider reaching ideals of plurality were genuine.

In order to appease the opponents of the basketball court, the CEO promised remedial action in the form of noise-cancelling measures. The clanking metal-chain net was replaced by one of plastic, a sound-absorbing backboard installed, and playing restricted to fixed times (I-43a: 13). From the campaigners point of view, this compromise turned out to be highly unsatisfactory. A majority of basketball players stuck to the times printed on the board. This could not prevent a few deviants from occasionally enraging residents by bouncing the ball in the middle of the night (I-7a,b: 3). All in all, the conflict was mitigated, but never resolved. Residents living in the half dozen blocks around the square were by no means united on the issue. Lia, a marketing manager living on her own, signed the petition out of sympathy for the troubled old couple that had co-initiated it: 'I said "I am not bothered at all by the court. But on your behalf I'll sign if you're so unhappy"' (I-42: 12). While she had joined the signature list for the sake of domestic peace, Lia's own view was that accepting various environmental aspects was implied when moving downtown. Besides her advocacy of tolerance toward local uses other than private dwelling, Lia was also among the neighbourhood's actively engaged. She had been among the initiators of the residents' flea market and was also on the editorial team of the gazette *HafenCity Zeitung*. Responsible for the cultural section, she frequently toured around equipped with a camera and voice recorder to capture the latest events, festivals and inaugural ceremonies of new building sections (I-42: 9). In this regard, Lia was a textbook example of the community-oriented resident envisioned by the CEO. Not only did she tolerate 'the locality's public character as a place of social encounters' (Bruns-Berentelg 2012a: 14), but actively worked toward achieving it.

In general, singles, younger and mid-aged people felt less disturbed by the sounds of basketball matches than pensioners and couples. An interior designer living in a flat opposite to Lia's argued he and his partner only joined the discussion meeting in demonstrative support of the basketball court: 'we only went because we were for the court. We thought if no one attends who speaks in favour of it, it would kind of be a dumb situation' (I-43b: 12). Examples like these represented a majority of residents not active in neighbourhood life. When they did happen to join an initiative, they were not driven by a defensive attitude or claims to moral ownership over place (Savage 2005: 52; 2010: 116). Like in the case of the gay couple, it was a

more general belief in egalitarianism: the blatancy with which a faction pressed for the enforcement of its interests did not entitle it to win out over a more quiet majority.



Image 7.5 Playing times scheduled from 10 am to 8 pm, Sunday rest period between 1 and 3 pm. (Source: author's photo)

To what extent the conflict around the basketball court was an impetus for mechanisms of political participation introduced to HafenCity is hard to trace back. What is known, is that in an opening article of HafenCity News, Pete drew a connection between the two aspects ([hafencitynews.de](http://hafencitynews.de)). For the time being, the district's private administration by the HCH had enabled to regulate residents' interests quickly and in an unbureaucratic way. Pete cited the smooth setup of the Spielhaus project and the resolution of the basketball conflict as procedures evading the lengthy decision making processes of regular parliamentary channels. The article's take away message was that the installation of a platform for residential

representation was a sensible idea. Such representation would qualify as a pre-emptive measure regarding HafenCity's *future* status. It was no secret that the HCH's 'special service' for residents would end with the moment of HafenCity's completion. Rather than finding that their concerns would no longer receive particular attention by authorities, residents were well advised to take preparatory measures for their effective communication.

At any rate most residents were caught in surprise by suggestions made in this direction almost a year after the conflict around the basketball court. At the semi-annual information evening, Bruns-Berentelg announced that considerations had been made for the establishment of a neighbourhood advisory board (hafencity-leben.de e). All those interested were invited to further discuss the idea in a meeting with Menzl. Soon twenty residents and Menzl were brainstorming over an agenda of key issues that could be developed for the creation of such a platform.

## **7.5 Strengthening ties to the planner: a neighbourhood advisory board**

According to Menzl, the idea for a platform representing residents and other stakeholders had originated with him, as an innovation he considered useful (I-48: 11). While he did not refer to any concrete reasons that would have impelled him, these were not far to seek. His own post was tied to the enhancement of dialogical relationships. After almost a year of definitional struggles over purposes, responsibilities and structure, the new advisory board took on shape. I have earlier introduced Sue, the moderator of the Bille-Cooperative meetings. Living up to her popularity as a group leader, she readily accepted her election as the advisory board's chairwoman. The majority agreed that it would further make sense to establish an 'extended directorate'. This would be a core group of people interested in regular meetings as opposed to those contenting themselves with regular updates through mailing lists. Setting up a directorate or executive committee has proven sensible when it is still too early for a group to spell out an agenda and it nonetheless wishes to give equal weight to the heterogeneity of interests among its members (Susskind, McKearnan and Larmer 1999: 24).

The advisory board's directorate was formed by a good dozen volunteers who had already distinguished themselves in HafenCity's neighbourhood life. This included Bill, a core-member of the dinner group, Sharron, co-initiator of the meanwhile annually repeated flea market, Pete, editor of HafenCity Zeitung, Dave, host of the after work meetings, and Annette, coordinator of the Ecumenical Forum. The directorate was complemented further by non-resident agents Tom, the pastor, and Fred, chair of the Störtebeker sports club.

The advisory board became established as a registered association under the name *Netzwerk HafenCity e.V.*, ('Network'). This title did not surprise regarding the inflationary use of the term network in residential circles, without bearing particular significance. As the board's treasurer noted, 'the name didn't matter to me, today almost every new formation calls itself *network*' (I-30: 9). In this case, the term indeed bore substance. 'Netzwerk' stood for the idea of a loose and non-hierarchical neighbourhood association without rigid competencies and an equitable treatment of the varying discussion topics at stake<sup>30</sup>. In its rationale, the board also laid claim to universalistic representation, implying to draw all interest groups that were clearly identifiable in HafenCity under its umbrella. This commitment was formally anchored in its mission statement, declaring that *HafenCity Netzwerk*

creates a platform in order to advance neighbourliness, represent the interests of residents, initiatives and businesses and to co-develop HafenCity into a social, sustainable, integrative and culturally manifold neighbourhood.

([www.netzwerk-hafencity.de](http://www.netzwerk-hafencity.de))

This claim to representational plurality is typical of platforms whose members are united by their allegiance to a geographical area, while this commonality yet says nothing about potential overlaps in interests. Sometimes such neighbourhood forums may be formed on the rather exclusionary basis of territorial occupancy as the smallest common denominator, uniting 'tenants, condo dwellers, homeowners and business owners' of an area (August and Walks 2012: 293-4). In the case of HafenCity Netzwerk, a potentially infinite number of issues relating to the

---

<sup>30</sup> As was explained to me by Sue (I-25b: 7).



neighbourhood translated into a list of issues discussed in and carried over from one meeting to the next. Among the most durable issues were the unresolved access ways to the Philharmonic hall that formed the final chord of Kaiserkai. Anxiety was already in place due to the ongoing problems with construction and subsequent delays of an envisaged inauguration date. To make things worse, no subway station or bus-shuttle system had been considered for the concert hall. This fuelled bleak scenarios among residents of a street regularly congested with the cars of concert attendees (HafenCity Zeitung 2010).

In some cases, claims made to participative planning by granting citizens a share in decision making have been debunked as tokenistic. In its development agenda *Going for Growth*, New Castle's city council installed so-called 'area committees' as sounding boards for the adoption of new policies (Coaffee 2003: 1988-90). Those volunteering in the committee were swamped with governance documents that had no recognisable relevance for their own area at stake. In this process volunteers were being co-opted to some extent by an authority, as they were given a share of its burdens, rather than of power itself (Selznick 1948: 14; Gamson 1968: 453; Cuoto 1988: 455).

I argue that for the HafenCity development corporation, residents similarly served as a testing ground for new governance strategies through their incorporation into the planner's field of responsibilities. The benefits achieved in the case of HafenCity Netzwerk were however more evenly distributed. The board's founders had decided to create individual working groups dealing with issues abiding as local conversation topics - most importantly traffic planning, support for local retailers, and HafenCity's public image. With the creation of such 'experts groups', the HCH profited from accumulation of information on issues overlapping with its own range of duties. Access to this information was secured through Menzl as an intermediary attending the board meetings.

Benefits for the development corporation were most evidently provided by the working group dealing with the intricate issue of traffic planning. Dealing with the topic required time and resilience in the correspondence with various authorities. It was no coincidence that retirees had taken over the job (PO-NW-1: 4). Planning documents had to be retrieved and studied, and often months passed before inquiry

letters were answered. Since updates on planning policies were being retrieved by the working group, the development corporation was spared the need to become active itself in many instances. A member of the traffic working group regarded it as one of Menzl's achievements that Netzwerk HafenCity was providing such a relief function for the HCH through its investigative work (I-45: 17). For the HCH, traffic was a preeminent subject in regard to the frequent complaints from residents and shop keepers about cars parking in drives and fire rescue paths. In part then, the HCH could be seen to coopt the advisory board for its uses through the devolvement of some of its workload.

The acceptance of Menzl's permanent attendance of advisory board meetings is explainable when it is regarded that board members themselves did not form a closed block. There were subdivisions of affiliated people within the group and otherwise episodic alliances, mainly when cooperation was needed for the accomplishment of projects. These projects were in the first place events hosted on local plazas or in semi-public areas like the entrance hall of the school. Recurring events that were jointly organised included the flea market, a Christmas market, and the welcome festival for new residents - all of which were opportunities for the various neighbourhood associations to showcase themselves to a larger audience of HafenCity visitors.

The following illustration of an event shall achieve several things. The first aim is to examine the theme of voluntary engagement already dealt with in previous chapters, however by inspecting also some of its theoretical implications. Conflicts between residents cooperating in joint projects will be shown as a situation involuntarily facilitated by the ombudsman. Second, through a case study, the particular development of a conflict will hint at the limits of mediation practices pursued through an ombudsman, revealed in his lack of control over social dynamics. Finally, an evaluation of the conflict, in part discussed through the viewpoints of those involved, will argue that the experience of uncertainty about group dynamics is part of a learning process for neighbourhood development. It reveals how urban place-making remains a permanently open ended, reflexive discipline.

## 7.6 Cooperative place-making and its limits

Since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, urban regeneration has seen the inclusion of civil agents in governance procedures through various types of partnership between the state and citizens (Taylor 1998; Raco and Flint 2003; Bailey and Manzi 2010). Specifically in the making of neighbourhood policies, concessions to civil participation have been made in form of including residents in citizen panels, juries and public hearings (Taylor: 2007: 298) In HafenCity, an institutionally inspired programme aiming to promote the area's businesses relied explicitly on the availability of volunteering residents. In this process, decision making capacity was in part delegated downward to those directly affected by these decisions, exemplifying a 'coproduction arrangement(s) for certain types of service delivery' (Chaskin and Abunimah 1999 61), (see also Sharp 1990; Berry, Portney and Thomson 1993). The resulting cooperative alliance was founded upon the encouragement of local populations and businesses to actively seek creative measures of 'self-help' for strengthening their own viability (for the UK, e.g. Raco 2003).

In early 2010, five years after the first stores had opened in HafenCity, their economic situation remained instable. Although tourists crammed the waterfront on sunny days, such one-time visitors did not help shops and eating places build up a customer base. Segregated from Hamburg's central shopping areas, HafenCity was by and large bypassed by the pedestrian streams. Not few ground floor stores were struggling to survive, urging the development corporation to ponder over resolutions. In a meeting arranged with Hamburg's chamber of commerce, the proposal came up to organise a task force for working out business support strategies (I-47: 13). Menzl proceeded by transferring the further concretisation of the task force to volunteers from the advisory board Netzwerk. He thereby called on residents who had previously expressed interest in the situation of HafenCity's ailing retailers and who were among the active animators of neighbourhood life. One of them was Hanna, a motor behind recreational activity such as neighbourly backyard barbecues, and an editorial contributor to HafenCity Zeitung. She was joined by real-estate agent Dave.

In the wake of HafenCity's stabilisation as a community via residential associations, residents were being made into active subjects in charge of the wellbeing of this community (Miller and Rose 2008: 91). Hanna and Dave were individuals Menzl knew well through numerous encounters in Netzwerk meetings and had thus identified as competent and capable for taking over a task. With this step, an issue identified by the developer to require special treatment was delegated to residents. Via Menzl, the developer availed himself of the advisory board as a pool of available agents from which he selected those recognised to have particular interests, passions, affinities and strengths (Rose 1999: 40). Menzl identified those likely to volunteer by targeted selection. The sustenance of local shops was an issue of common interest for the entirety of HafenCity residents. Yet, Menzl proceeded by sampling from a small subgroup of people that were tried and tested in taking over leadership. This way an increased certainty about those participating in HafenCity's development process became a defining quality of local governance, specified in a relationship of trust and reliability between governor and governed (Cheshire and Woods 2009: 657; Lyons, Smuts and Stephens 2001: 1237).

It was agreed that Menzl would not withdraw but assist Dave and Hanna in the now following phase of concretisation of the task force. Two further store owners who were also members of Netzwerk decided to join the group, one of which also lived in HafenCity, and a non-resident interior designer supplying a local furniture store. Not formally participating but attached to the task force for consultation was a member from the chamber of commerce and further an ambassador from a syndicate representing the entirety of Hamburg's downtown retailers (PO-11: 3). The ad-hoc character of this voluntary association that fused together public, private and civil agents resembles the notion of 'neighbourhood management' as a form of governance calling for civil participation (Bailey and Manzi 2010). A peculiarity of this approach is the (partial) delegation of responsibilities in neighbourhood development to the community.



Image 7.6 Menzl (left) in a conversation with parents who were members of the Spielhaus Association. (Source: author's photo)



Image 7.7 Menzl discussing the programme for a residents' festival. (Source: author's photos)

Hanna and Dave were belatedly complemented by Rose, whom I portrayed as a dynamic local business woman. As Rose only sporadically attended the Netzwerk meetings, Menzl's announcement of the retailers' task force and call for volunteers had passed her attention. Only three months later had she become informed, when the task force had moved on to concrete plans for an event for local retailers. In a vigorous reaction recalled by Menzl, she revealed her impression of having been ignored and her wish to be admitted to the group:

This conflict with Rose had heated up when she had read in the minutes of a Netzwerk meeting that we had conceived this event for local retailers soon to be held, and why she had not been included. She said would really like to take part and that there had been a misunderstanding. She would have signed up long ago if she would have known about it.  
(I-48: 33)

Rose was no uncontroversial local player, indicated in Menzl's reference to a conflict. David and Hanna hesitated to grant her admittance to the task force. In the past, Rose had made use of group projects for advertising her own local businesses, why she had a reputation of conflating voluntary engagement with self-seeking interests. Three months ago, at a jointly organised Christmas market, Rose had attended with a food-booth inter alia selling mulled wine from retailers she accommodated under the umbrella of her 'Businessport' (I-32: 22). The other organisers of the market had envisioned it as a chiefly charitable event where the only foods to be sold were those bought or home-made by participating residents. As it remained unclear in how far commercial profits had been made at her booth, Rose was seen to have inappropriately diverted a charitable market for commercial purposes (PO-NW-2: 3). In this vein, some with whom she had previously collaborated in events were not entirely free of reservations. It was owed to Menzl's persuasion that Rose was nonetheless admitted to the task force. He recalled how he argued in favour of Rose while simultaneously trying to control her scope of action:

I had intervened into this conflict, where I became very active, which I am usually not. My role is - I try to keep back. But in this situation I thought, 'if we do not want to burden this activation of the retailers as something we were looking forward to with a large debt from the beginning, it was more sensible to involve Rose than to have her as an opponent.' Either way she would have come to the event and would have

tried to influence it. And then it was better to incorporate and perhaps capture her a little bit than to have her as an opponent of the project from the start. This is why I said 'we should involve Rose but decide on clear rules of the game.' This was for instance that she would not dominate the event, and that everything is being agreed on within the preparatory group.  
(I-48: 33)

As the evolvement of events would reveal, the power of an ombudsman to regulate group dynamics was limited. Dave and Rose shared in common that their representation of businesses in the neighbourhood implied that their voluntary activities were not necessarily sharply separable from their occupations. The blurring of these boundaries ensued into a conflict over which local volunteers would become profoundly divided and which thwarted their collaboration. I argue that the inseparability of volunteering in joint projects from the interests individuals simultaneously pursued was an impediment to joint place-making. It led to misunderstandings over which not even an ombudsman acting as an intermediary had control, even though he deliberately worked against it.

The event for retail businesses was held in the HafenCity information centre, where a respectable number of roughly 70 guests from over 40 local businesses<sup>31</sup> had come together<sup>32</sup>. Besides Dave and Hanna who gave a short introduction, Bruns-Berentelg was there to welcome everyone, accompanied by a representative of the chamber of commerce, and the chair of the municipal office for business promotion (PO-12: 1). The structured programme of the evening attested that the task force had put considerable commitment into their thoughts about retailers. A professional event moderator had been organised to lead through the evening. She soon clarified this was not going to be some laid back presentation given by her but an interactive occasion requiring everyone's input (PO-12: 5-6). After an opening discussion on the specific needs of local retailers, the audience were urged to split into individual workshops for further consultation on how retailers could be effectively helped. The moderator expressed her delight in the generation of many ideas collated on flip charts at the front of the room (PO-12: 6, 13-14). The event's good atmosphere was

---

<sup>31</sup> From a total of approximately 60 retail and gastronomy businesses existing at the time.

<sup>32</sup> The following account is based on my own attendance of the event and the field notes I took.

dampened by a tense moment toward its closing. When individual participants gave their feedback, Rose interjected:

Sorry, I forgot to mention something...something essential. At the moment we only have the ground floor businesses. For the next meeting we could also invite the companies from other buildings.  
(PO-12: 16)

Impulsively Hanna jumped up from her chair in the front row to face the audience and object:

I want to explicitly say that I do not want to leave this 'only' uncommented. We have very deliberately confined ourselves to inviting the ground floor occupants. We did not want Unilever<sup>33</sup> or some advertising agency from the sixth floor or so. We specifically wanted businesses that are in a comparable situation.  
(ibid)

After this interjection, Menzl briefly thanked the audience for a 'constructive working atmosphere' (PO-12: 17) that would hopefully inspire things to get going. His modest roundup held in a dampened voice was a premonition of the strain that had been put on the task force. The event had indeed taken on a dynamic that was the cause for indignation among Dave and Hanna who regarded themselves as the originators of the taskforce. Similar to a previous group project in which she had taken part, Rose also in this case was accused of unwarranted, singlehanded action. When I met Dave during the festive inauguration of a new building section, he summed up his impression of the task force event. Hanna and Dave were irritated by Rose's apparent 'infiltration' of the event with colleagues from the local businesses she was accommodating:

Rose's participation was granted from our side under the condition that she would appear as a private person. And then three days before, she invited five companies – which had not been agreed – whose representatives then showed up. These she then distributed over the workshops. That she took care of people's coats at the reception had been agreed. We also sat together at a table where we talked through the event

---

<sup>33</sup> The company has its German headquarters in an own building in HafenCity.



procedure beforehand. Whenever she requests whether she can join activities, you of course do not want to say 'no'. So you admit it and hope that she will stick to the arrangements made. Above all, this entire engagement in the Netzwerk stands for social work. I could also have appeared as a spokesperson of my real-estate agency, but I did not. I was there as a private person in order to network people.  
(PO-24: 15)

In her study of a neighbourhood project, Blokland (2008) revealed that volunteers may be guided by disparate motivations. She challenged the assumption that collaborating in a project is equivalent to building community, as Dave suggests in his invocation of 'social work.' Neighbourhood projects can falter due to their division of participants over the gains drawn from the social capital activated in them. In Blokland's (ibid: 160) study, a gardening project for beautifying a neighbourhood atrophied when participants questioned its benefit for themselves as individuals. The project was launched by a few educated middle class individuals coming from outside. They sought to put their liberal ideals of good community into practice (ibid: 160). Getting one's hands dirty was part and parcel of their conviction that this was to the benefit of all. Their political ideology made them blind to the fact that the relationship of locals to the neighbourhood was defined by utility rather than more abstract values about nature in the city (ibid: 159). For impoverished residents trapped in the area out of a lack of alternatives, planting trees was not seen as an improvement of their situation. When they found their contributions to gardening work were not compensated by the project leaders through services attending to their own, materially oriented needs, they gradually withdrew (ibid: 155-6, 162). Their position resembled the way in which social capital has been classically defined by its theorists, for instance by Lin (1999: 30), as 'investment in social relations with expected returns.'

The group-specific uses of social capital portrayed by Blokland are not directly transferable to our case. Disparity between Rose and the other volunteers in the retailers' task force was arguably not defined along class lines. Interpretations of volunteering instead varied with unequal attachments to the neighbourhood. For residents running a business in the area networking activity naturally offered itself for forging relationships (of customers, partners etc.) that could help to secure their livelihood. The *Businessport* was a support network Rose had been running for

businesses like her own long before the start of the retailers' support group. Retail was a local field in which she was already well-positioned and which she had staked off - most prominently through her advertising campaigns (I-32: 15). Beyond volunteering for the sake of fostering HafenCity's retail, she had a vested interest in also reinforcing her own affiliations with retailers.

In their portrayal of an environmentalist association, Savage, Tampubolon and Warde (2008: 186) displayed that the stability of a group is not determined in a homogeneity of interests among members, but in their 'recognition of divisions amidst their ranks.' Chiming with this, Poirier Elliott (1999) discussed how effective collaboration within groups relies strongly on agreed ground rules to which its members have agreed to subscribe. Achieving consensus, in this respect, does not imply that group participants would not pursue individual interests, but that there are mechanisms in place for openly displaying (and reconciling) them. Despite Dave's reference to 'arrangements' made in the quote, it is questionable whether such rules had in fact been spelt out. When I asked Rose on her view on the task force event, she did not suggest that unanimity on a clear separation of interests had existed. In her opinion, activities oriented to community building were indeed reconcilable with self-seeking interests (I-32: 28).

Menzl's evaluation of the event corroborated the suggestion that there was no agreement on any rules and modes of networking activity pursued in the group project: 'of course there were a few things that were not agreed on beforehand, as we thought it would not happen this way. That was perhaps naïve, perhaps it would have needed to be controlled further' (I-48: 33). The question arises, how as a facilitator of group dynamics Menzl dealt with such overt disagreements. It did not appear as if he attributed much influence to his position:

I don't think these problems are solvable. As long as Rose is active here, there will be conflicts, inevitably, sooner or later. And this is a relatively sensitive topic to which I devote plenty of time, and where I intervene actively, in order to catch up dynamics a little. Rose also turns to us for her projects, when she needs resources, such as for HafenCity Radio and other things. And my position is, we support her, but we also set her limits at certain points, particularly when it is about using the public spaces here and the outdoor terraces.  
(I-48: 9)

Conflict mediation in neighbourhoods has classically been employed in more quotidian contexts of disputing over infringements of good conduct. Intervention by the state has focused on urban lower income enclaves marked by complaints about anti-social behaviour, vandalism and petty crime (Flint and Rowlands 2004). More generally in the UK, community managers have featured as mediators between landlords and tenants (Scott and Parkey 1998; Somerville 1999). Since the late 1980s, community mediation programmes and services have been installed in several Scottish cities, where ideally in face-to-face encounters, external mediators intervene to resolve neighbours' conflicts (Dignan and Sorsby 1999).

Menzl had persuaded Hanna and Dave to admit Rose into the task force as an attempt to deescalate an impending dispute. It was hoped that this acquiescence would be acknowledged as an act of good will, and in turn reinforce Rose's loyalty to the group. This plan had evidently not worked out. As a facilitator, Menzl managed to temporarily impede latent conflicts to heat up into outright confrontations. He was able to push back the symptoms of local rivalry, but unable to eliminate their origins. He displayed that he indeed regarded himself as a conduit for collaborative activity as opposed to an agency that structures the social relationships *within* this activity:

I would say I have a relatively good relationship to most groups and most people. I get along well. I also try not to position myself too strongly toward a particular side, but to maintain the function of working as a bridge builder within conflicts....to be able to sway back and forth, and not to move too much in one particular direction. I try not to immerse myself too deeply into neighbours' life.  
(I-48: 9)

Menzl knew his credibility rested on the ability to remain impartial. He did not define his role in a such ways that would have allowed him to proactively interfere into conflicts. Menzl's role repertoire did not extend into conflict mediation but remained de facto on the level of social facilitation. It resonates with Piorier Elliott's (1999: 207) characterisation: 'a facilitator remains neutral concerning the content of the group's work and typically has no decision-making authority within the group.'

It was the mastery of this juggling act that qualified the ombudsman as an acknowledged partner in residents' place-making. For someone commissioned to

keep an overview on the needs of all residents alike, it was rational not to overindulge in the relationships of individual factions. Particularly regarding those with whom rapport had been established through the advisory board, there was a prior interest in maintaining an unrestrained relationship for continued cooperation. My interviews with residents confirmed Menzl's good local reception, despite that some considered the entire institution of an ombudsman superfluous. Some frequently in contact with him stressed his tranquil nature as a quality appreciated about him. A retired woman from the Bille-Cooperative who had assisted in organising the first residents' welcome festival pointed out to me: 'he always remains calm, always friendly. He reminds me of my oldest son' (22b: 50). A more intense intervention in group life on Menzl's side would not necessarily have been conducive to the pleasant manner he was ascribed. Preventive action for conflict mediation was something very difficult to achieve from his viewpoint. At stake for him was the facilitation of associations in the interest of an animate neighbourhood life at large - not the quality of relations between particular individuals.

## **7.7 Conclusion**

In HafenCity, developer activity and voluntary, bottom-up initiative converged on various levels into cooperative place-making. Such cooperation was enabled through the intermediation of an ombudsman through which the developer was given a 'face'. The maturation of the neighbourhood's associational life was to no little extent owed to the ombudsman's own intensification of links entertained with residents. Importantly, the introduction of institutions and facilities serving collective needs was not confined to inward-looking networks forged among planning agents and residents. Instead, the potentials HafenCity bore as a new place that was embedded into an existing urban context was conducive to place-making through networks reaching beyond the local level. Authorities commissioned with policy making were complemented by loose and episodic collaborations between planners, residents, and charitable institutions. Such alliances bore witness to the

metamorphosis of urban development as an originally hierarchically steered procedure into to more 'flattened' networks of multi-actor governance.

The question is how far the allowances for civil participation made by the HafenCity development board figured as a genuine contribution to community empowerment. Chaskin (2007: 865) argues that inclusion in urban redevelopment projects implies 'participation in the deliberative and decision-making processes that inform policies that affect community members and shape the nature of community life.' As I pointed out earlier, the majority of such studies on redevelopment address the situation in less advantaged urban areas. A parallel to such urban regeneration projects can nonetheless be drawn. As a new-build estate, HafenCity is similarly a 'contrived community' (ibid: 865). In comparison to more regular neighbourhoods, such under-construction areas are to a large degree under the control of planners. As their populations are still profoundly in flux and shaped by particular settlement policies, they offer exceptional opportunities for experimentation with new models of governance.

The capacities of HafenCity Netzwerk for formal representation of a citizenry were arguably limited (ibid 868). The platform's leverage was not comparable to that of a council, which actually invests its members with a legislative mandate. I posit that the ability of a group to continuously identify and deliberate issues of local concern and to be acknowledged as a representational platform marked the difference HafenCity Netzwerk made. By the same token, through their volunteering the members of this advisory board collated information on municipal issues the planner could beneficially draw on for operating. While the development corporation indeed reaped the benefits of residents' voluntary engagement in a cooptive manner, such benefits were reciprocal. The ombudsman acted as a service deliverer for associational life through his advisory and technical assistance.

Implied in attempts toward formal association is a tension between the promotion of collective benefit and respect of individual difference. A voluntary neighbourhood association can be likened to the character of civic organisations in general, as described by Elshtain (as cited in Walzer 1995: 77-8): 'a political body that simultaneously brings persons together, creating a 'we', but enables these same persons to separate themselves and to recognize one another in and through their

differences as well as in what they share in common.' Tensions between individuals' positions and a collective vision considerably impeded effective group collaboration in HafenCity. They ensued when individuals were seen to unjustly monopolise group resources for their personal benefit. The portrayal of a task force displayed that they were also grounded in individuals' affiliations to several networks in parallel. Investing in a network of close-knit ties to people in similar social positions ranked higher than the loyalty to the many other local associations held that were less significant for self-actualisation. While some of those involved in temporary collaborations invoked compliance to rules, the implication was that a consensus on such rules would have been necessary. The ombudsman had no legitimacy to introduce any such codes of practice for residents' modes of collaboration. He interpreted his role in the facilitation of associations, not in the shaping of interpersonal relationships within them.



## 8 Conclusion

How then, does HafenCity tie into notions of planners' celebration of an urban renaissance? There is no doubt that a prime location between the old CBD and the river front was connected to hopes of creating a site of international prominence and appeal. For the creative economy to become attracted to such new places, these however additionally rely on their effective visualisation through the power of symbols (Doerfler 2011). Architecture needs to be visually enticing in places that do not just harbour a new economy but are meant to work also as leisure resorts and residential sites appealing to those working in them (Helbrecht 2012). Regarding new mixed-use developments emerging at the edge of the old city centre, Ley (2012: 48) bluntly states 'the new inner-city is the home of Richard Florida's so-called creative classes.' HafenCity's residential makeup bore a fair proportion of 'creative sector' workers, whose deployment and exchange of occupational skills enabled them to considerably define the nature of their immediate social setting.

As discussed, the success of a new downtown therefore relies strongly on its ability to create centrality. This denotes place as an economic asset coming about through the spatial clustering of high-profile businesses. HafenCity displayed the agglomeration of prestigious enterprises related to the new media and other quaternary services, while their presence was conspicuously framed by dint of elaborate landscape design and 'iconic architecture' (Sklair 2005; 2006). These elements of place were integral to a new downtown as a *product*. It was not a state of existence unfolding haphazardly and organically, in the way of pre-industrial European cities less defined on the drawing board (Helbrecht 2012: 10-11). In their capacity to brand a place, new downtowns are tools of urban boosterism connected to hopes of thrusting a city upward in the rank order of competing cities (Bianchini, Dawson and Evans 1992; Fainstein 2001; Bell 2004; Bounds 2006; Helbrecht and Dirksmeier 2012: 8-9). Whereas it holds true then that a vigorous increase in property values in HafenCity could not have been automatically foreseen, this effect was to some extent already built into the logic of an urban mega-project heavily infused with aspirations created by planners' marketing strategies.



German cities like Hamburg are not spared from global trends of capital re-concentration in city centres and their parallel continued growth through immigration. Considered as 'winners' of globalisation (Michalski 2010), metropolises like Hamburg are havens for job-seekers, refugees, suppressed ethnic and cultural minorities and those fleeing militant conflicts and poverty. In parallel, central cities only recently stagnating and declining are reinvigorated as playgrounds for global capital investment (Sassen 2001; Davidson 2007). Inter-urban competition has not led few municipalities to surrender development activity in locationally privileged areas predominantly to private interests. In this process, real-estate capital gravitates (as infill development) into areas that are geographically beyond the central business district. Internationally oriented property firms are deemed to possess the magic formulas that will fuse derelict pockets of land into a blooming new downtown prestigious for future oriented businesses, tourism and leisure (Scott 2006; 2008). The concomitant expansion of competitive development activity increasingly spreads outward and into areas beyond the central city, succinctly driving up the costs for housing. With continued urban population growth, the need for municipalities to work out original solutions for affordable housing is of highest urgency. This diagnosis particularly applies to cities with a contested housing market like Hamburg.

With Hamburg's 1980s turnaround to market-friendly approaches, resembled in luxury-commercialised 'business improvement districts', creeping gentrification of former dock-workers' and red light district St. Pauli, and unhampered embracement of Florida's 'creative city' doctrine (Kähler 2009), such efforts do not enjoy priority within Hamburg's Senate. In the development approach taken for its first sections, HafenCity did not stand out from the norm of surrendering former industrial sites to big capital. This practice has begun to stud old working class districts like St. Pauli with luxury residential islands (Birke 2014). It did not surprise that under the impression of an unbridled branding policy bent on cultural flagship projects, in par with cutbacks on social housing, 'HafenCity has been brushed with the same brush of negative media coverage' (Lees 2012: 32) as other local redevelopments.

Public authorities' celebration of HafenCity as a scheme pioneering urban development of the 21st century resonated in the 'pioneer' rhetoric that had trickled

into the vocabulary of early residential arrivals. In several ways, the relationships to place many early residents developed did align them to the notion of the 'pioneer' permeating gentrification discourses. To recapitulate, Neil Smith (1996) highlighted the arrogance inherent in the term when property developers use it to lure in an affluent clientele into (presumably uninhabited) working class areas. In gentrification literature, the pioneer or 'marginal' gentrifier (Rose 1994) is synonymic with the earliest residential cohort significant in the process of neighbourhood revalorisation: those middle class fractions high in cultural but low in economic capital moving into neglected inner city areas considered unattractive by the established majority (Caulfield 1989: 622; Dangschat 1993; Ley 1996: 36; Bridge 2001: 206, Tonkiss 2005: 91). As Lees (1996: 454) reminds us, the pioneer gentrifier today is little more than what remains as a romanticised image of a small avant-garde cohort spearheading a bygone urban culture (Ley 1996). New-build developments have been seen to relate to pioneer gentrification merely as a cliché. London's new riverside developments replicate the 'pioneer-style gentrification aesthetics' through mock-Victorian architecture and other historical accoutrement such as harbour cranes (Davidson and Less 2005: 1181).

These historically obsolete references to the pioneer gentrifier do not help understand how those moving to a newly emerging place were 'pioneering'. By contrast, HafenCity residents' voluntary engagement with their new-build environment recommends reconstitution of the concept of the pioneer in contexts of gentrification and residential studies. It encompasses more than moving into rundown historical buildings and their material rehabilitation. In contrast to old neighbourhoods, where dilapidation stimulated residents to become engaged in their area, it was the opportunities given with a place on-the-rise that did the same in HafenCity as a place in transition. When the first residents moved in, HafenCity existed rudimentarily as a cluster of buildings on the outer edge of muddy wasteland. The view onto construction trenches and dredges did not have much in common with the picture book portrayal of waterfront developments like Harbourside, Bristol (Boddy 2006), False Creek, Vancouver (Ley 2012) or Pyrmont-Ultimo, Sydney (Waitt 2004; Bounds 2006). Early enrolment of residents in tandem with public sector volunteers for HafenCity's evolvement revealed how emotional attachment to

place can mean more than its passive consumption. In helping to kick off initiatives geared to the needs of children living in the neighbouring old downtown, residents mobilised their energies not purely for self-serving goals but also for farther-reaching ideals. But also through cultural engagement in producing a neighbourhood-spanning newspaper or by seeking support structures for retailers, residents were committed to the city at large.

However, such orientations to the local were not informed by a shared ideology of the 'urban' or any other ideal of place that would have motivated individuals to move along. Contrasting with pioneer gentrifiers, a move to an inner-city environment like HafenCity was not connected to any prospects to live out an aspired urban identity, or even a lifestyle as such (notwithstanding that the atmospheric experience of a harbour environment mattered as a sensory element of lifestyle). In short, as a setting imbued with particular socio-cultural qualities, the 'city' did not matter to incoming residents. The patterns of early occupancy in HafenCity did not suggest that urban life-style preferences were at work. A central motive driving many was an aesthetic one (water and its sensations), bare of further qualities relating to the urban or any of its attributes. Aesthetic identifications with a harbour environment were by and large divorced from considerations about the urban context to which this environment was firmly linked. In this aspect, residents did align to the new-build gentrifier's relationship to the local as a passive consumer of its amenities without personally investing in it (Bounds 2005; Davidson 2005; Davidson and Less 2009; Butler 2007).

In the wake of such an identification with form rather than substance, it would be a short step to infer that the socio-cultural qualities of *place* did not matter to people moving to HafenCity. It would seem all too obvious to hastily subsume such residents under 'new-build gentrifiers' illustrated to turn their back on the urban environment they have appropriated. I aimed to show through this work that this would be a crude misrepresentation. The ease of connecting with others, this 'neighbourliness' appreciated by many HafenCity residents, was no feature these would have anticipated beforehand. It emerged after arrival as an unexpected side effect of local living. As Forrest and Kearns (2001) argue, the neighbourhood today may matter less for serving instrumental purposes than for emotional attachment.

The fortunes of a neighbourhood are connected to the feeling among residents that their area is a place of their own choice, rather than one in which they have ended up. In this regard those living in substandard housing enclaves and 'ghettos' may indeed form a large group that remains involuntarily bound to its neighbourhood. Such neighbourhood attachment is then however grounded more in a lack of affordable dwelling alternatives than in particular ties to one's locality (Atkinson 2008; Blokland and Noordhoff 2008; Bourdieu 1999).

In HafenCity, the specific situation of first-time occupation was identified as an important factor shaping neighbourhood relations. The phenomenon of people moving to a place without previous inhabitants over a relatively short period implied that social connections were able to form more readily than in established neighbourhoods. An overlap in the disposition of individuals possessing a substantial amount of cultural capital was prerequisite to this capital being made collective. Borrowing from Bridge (2006; 2007), I suggested how such an active orientation to the locality attested to the formation of a habitus of 'community gentrifiers' among residents with similar cultural dispositions. Living in proximity to each other was not itself a reason to turn to one's neighbours. I refute the notion of environmental determinism at work that would have promoted social cohesion among agents on the basis of their physical co-existence. Middle class individuals, for whom their new neighbourhood setting had been a matter of choice, did not rely on the availability of social networks in physical proximity. Their social mobility entailed that affiliations entertained at the local level were one among many other networks into which they were embedded in parallel - work colleagues, gym mates, family members, friends scattered across Hamburg and living beyond, or the friends of their friends.

In HafenCity, incomers were flocking together on the basis of 'affinity, not proximity' (Riger 1982: 56). Associations were formed on the basis of physical nearness not acting as a motivator but merely as a context for these, a context pre-given in the environmental setup: moving to a residential area built from scratch was set apart from common patterns of relocation, where incomers encounter a place already socio-culturally prefigured by an incumbent population. Social correspondence with other residents was assumed to exist at least on the level of an 'elective' identification with place (Savage 1005; 2010) that differed remarkably from

common ways of experiencing neighbourhood. The acceptance of such a neighbourhood still lacking common service and infrastructure provision, in par with exposure to construction works, was beyond the expectable.

I illustrated that it was exactly the interpretation of this situation as a *chance* for actively turning to one's locality in constructive ways rather than seeing it as an imposition, that suggested residents' comparison of themselves with 'pioneers.' A parallel to pioneer gentrifiers is neatly drawn: through practices of renovation, these originally redefined the rundown condition of old housing stock from a disadvantage to a welcome opportunity for personal activation. The value that place acquired for many and which was expressed in collective ways of identification resembled what Blokland (2008: 160) described as 'substantial rationality', a term adopted from Weber (1978: 24-6). This was an affinity to the neighbourhood originating with the emancipatory ideals about the urban sphere among the originally 'progressive gentrifiers' (Blokland 2008: 160), the pioneers. With the aftermath of the 1960s cultural revolution, this affinity was carried forward into the present, where it has been institutionalised in community-oriented politics (such as in neighbourhood environmentalist campaigns (Savage et al. 2008) or in the 'Right to the City' network emerging in Hamburg, as I portrayed). Blokland (ibid) suggests (via Allen 1980), that 'gentrifiers' quest for diversity and originality makes them part of a 'wider' movement of utopian quests for a certain type of community.' Musterd and van Weesep (1993: 93) showed up how this quest articulated itself in the neighbourhood activism of 'grass-root movements opposing the invasion of turf.' Pioneers were fraternising with the incumbent working classes against bourgeois in-migration. In the 'activism' of early HafenCity there was arguably much less at stake. An anti-traffic planning campaign was rather reductive in its self-serving orientation to residents' vested interests.

The city's association with a sphere for emancipation (Caulfield 1988; Ley 1996) was a value assigned to it by liberal pioneer gentrifiers. Neighbourhood movements and campaigns directed toward protecting social and historical qualities of place reflected their political ideals of diversity, tolerance and solidarity. Such collective identifications with place were not voiced in my interviews with residents. The idea of the local as a sphere for emancipation could instead be seen to be at work

in a different (and concededly more mundane) sense. It was far removed from a cultural ideal. For many, the collective experience of moving to a place translated into an invitation to proactively engage with it. Opportunities given for launching a voluntary initiative or joining one thus qualified the local as a sphere for personal initiative and self-realisation. The 'emancipatory character' HafenCity's CEO sought to achieve as a quality of place became manifest in such associational ties built by residents. Such emancipatory potential was also more indirectly revealed in residents' various appraisals of the neighbourhood as a point of departure for trying new activities. It was validated in their continuity of local engagement, even though for such resourced middle class professionals, there would have been a range of fulfilling alternatives in more distanced geographic contexts. Such 'opting out' of the neighbourhood is not uncommon for higher professionals who earn considerable salaries but have no time for committed group activities or civic engagement (Andreotti and Galés 2008). Contrary to the assumption of many rational choice theorists, residents' engagement in their neighbourhood did not have to be informed by investments based on immediate rewards but could include activities valued in their own right (Blokland 2008: 160).

Regarding that such voluntary place-making was pursued chiefly by middle class residents rich in educational resources, attention needs to be directed to the claims made to social diversity by CEO Bruns-Berentelg. During HafenCity's first years of development, diversity could not be seen to manifest itself markedly at the vertical level. While an allowance for more moderate rent levels had been made through a substantial proportion of cooperative developments, there was no subsidised housing that would have enabled an inclusion of those at the lower end of income distribution. Rather than through housing, concessions to social inclusion were made at other institutional levels. It was owed very much to external impulses rather than forward looking planning that major institutions for a less privileged population were incorporated. The introduction of a school centre and a sports club catered to the needs of children from households for whom living in HafenCity was financially out of reach. These two institutions instead exemplified how HafenCity was performing a bridging function to those not immediately included in its social makeup (Blokland 2008). A further example of an institution catering to population

groups in need of particular support - equally inspired by agents not sanctioned as planners - was the project Stadthaushotel employing mentally and physically challenged personnel.

Such institutions supplying care and support counteracted HafenCity's monotonous involvement into a community reserved for the socially better-off. I illustrated that a reappraisal of policies aligned to generic visions for wide social inclusion meanwhile appears to also have occurred among HafenCity's planners. Social housing is no longer a theoretical scenario but a built reality incorporated into upcoming building sections. The latest figures on HafenCity estimate a current population of 2,000 people amounting to one seventh of an envisaged overall number of 14,000 residents (HCH o). It is yet too early to make any prognosis on whether a hitherto gentrifying scheme will end up as *gentrified*. On the question whether by its completion in 2025, the new downtown will be socially plural, my own evaluation falls in line with that made on HafenCity by Lees (2012: 33) a little more than three years ago: 'given my knowledge of the critical thought that has gone into this redevelopment the verdict is still open on this.'

For HafenCity's planners, the sphere of the 'social' had moved to the centre of attention with the recognition of lacking mechanisms for attending to residents' concerns. The consequent appointment of an ombudsman marked the shift from formal top-down bureaucracy steering the new downtown's involvement to widened networks of governance. A component of this renewed relationship to residents was the planners' extraction of resources these were supplying as lay people enrolled into urban policy contexts. Residents were given an officially sanctioned voice through an advisory board, while the links to planners were simultaneously reinforced through this institution. The knowledge residents compiled on planning issues around HafenCity was bundled and centralised through their membership in the advisory board, making it easily available for planners on demand.

Through the inclusion of residents in selected policy arenas, the development corporation could better meet its own demands for smooth administration. It had secured itself a 'reserve army of support effectively and on its own terms' (Morison, 2000: 129, as cited in Taylor 2007: 301). In this regard, mechanisms for participative planning incorporated an element of cooptation of lay agents by official authorities.

Knowledge was however gathered on both sides and shared in a mutually beneficial way. The result was a shared learning process, as the intricate planning process involving authorities beyond the HafenCity development corporation was made more accountable for two of its main stakeholder groups. The advisory board was a mutually rewarding coalition that 'cut across different groups that promote particular interpretations of problems and forms of learning' (McFarlane 2011: 65). As lay agents in planning, residents were accommodated by the expertise of an intermediary ombudsman, so that they did not end up in an unfavourable position in the local regime of power.

Introducing an ombudsman was the first step toward community involvement, followed by farther reaching mechanisms for participation and deliberation. For sure, as I illustrated, such community empowerment was no constitutive element of a policy agenda but triggered by the insight of shortcomings in planning policy. A spokesperson for residents was introduced belatedly, as remedial action for dealing with unexpected resistance to planning policy. There are certain parallels here to large-scale redevelopments of the past, where measures for civic participation certainly functioned to legitimise urban policies. Yet, such measures must not be tokenistic or merely symbolic. Particularly in developments for controversial mass housing, invitations to residential participation have been revealed as distractions from actual problems, to 'raise expectations but fall short in terms of delivery' (Manzi and Jacobs 2009: 275). In HafenCity, options given for participation were arguably acknowledged as genuine by those seizing them.

Planning seems like an obsolete term, in its implication of a cleavage between theory and practice, concept and performance. I would recommend a general renaming of a discipline and field of practice that is ultimately an 'enabling' agent; planning facilitates the built environment's conduciveness for urban life to unfold autonomously and dynamically. Replacing urban 'planning' with 'development' would do linguistic justice to the city as an open-ended entanglement of processes rather than as something unrolling in a predictable manner. Unfortunately, 'development' is a term already reserved for denoting the land-use activity of property interests. *Development* would seem more appropriately relating to urbanity



as something that endorses the unforeseen as a moment vividly inspiring the trajectories of authorities officially in charge of place-making. As a procedure that principally takes into account the voices of non-authorised lay agents, it also suggests itself as a democratic alternative to the complacent (male) master-planner assuming superiority through his 'god's eye view' onto the city (Jacobs 1961; Harvey 1990; Scott 1998; Lefebvre 2003).

Urban development, as opposed to 'planning', is subject to strategic action that over time adapts flexibly to changed circumstances. In HafenCity, such circumstances involved dimensions such as the people gradually populating an area and thereby changing its demographic makeup, the place's media perception, as well as patterns of demand within the real-estate market. Perhaps the problem with 'planning' as a concept is that it is fraught with the idea of elite superiority, under the guise of which decisions are accepted without much scope for negotiation. By the same token, the claim that urban development would not require the incorporation of any 'plans' is to thwart the perspective of further building cities as places that are pleasant and appreciable for human beings. The formulation of minimal goals is needed for (tentative) reference points along which policies can be guided, for questioning their trajectories, and for moving forward securely on the basis of knowledge modified on the way.

HafenCity may form a privileged exception in planning, as the municipality was able to acquire ownership over a respectably large and contiguous piece of central land. In any developments reaching beyond the scale of individual buildings, planning authorities in charge ought to ensure to set criteria that sustain the public sector as a strong negotiator, ideally positioned at eye-level with private capital. This implies that municipally owned land is not sold in large chunks without strictly imposed conditions as in the case of London's Docklands (Imrie, Lees and Raco 2009). Furthermore, the encouragement of residents' participation in development policies by which they are immediately affected is a way for planners to disconfirm charges of an autistic approach to urban development. Attention directed not only to physical structures but also to how self-sustaining social structures may be stimulated among a population is key to forward-looking planning. Invitations to civic participation do not imply that authorities were aiming to engineer social

relationships. I illustrated how interference at the inter-personal level runs risk of becoming associated with an unwarranted intrusion of organisations into people's private circumstances. Rather, inclusive development at the neighbourhood level implies the provision of facilitating capacities that can assist residents in their voluntary place-making when they themselves request them.



## Bibliography

Abram, S. A. (2000) Planning the public: some comments on empirical problems for planning theory. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 19 (4), 351-357.

Allan, G. A. (1979) A sociology of friendship and kinship. London: George Allen & Unwin.

Amin, A., Massey, D. and Thrift, N. (2000) Cities for the many not the few, Bristol: The Policy Press.

Andreotti, A. and Le Galès, P. (2008) Middle class neighbourhood attachment in Paris and Milan: partial exit and profound rootedness. In: Blokland, T. and Savage, M. (2008) *Networked Urbanism: social capital in the city*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 127-43.

Atkinson, R. (2000) The hidden costs of gentrification: Displacement in central London. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 15 (4), 307-326.

Atkinson, R (2003) Addressing urban social exclusion through community involvement in urban regeneration. In: Imrie, R. and Raco, M. (eds.) *Urban renaissance? New labour, community and urban policy*, Bristol: Policy Press, 101-20.

Atkinson, R. (2004) The evidence on the impact of gentrification: new lessons for the urban renaissance? *European Journal of Housing Policy* 4 (1), April 2004, 107–131

Atkinson, R. (2008) The flowing enclave and the misanthropy of networked affluence. In: Blokland, T. and Savage, M. (2008) *Networked Urbanism: social capital in the city*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 41-57.

August, M. and Walks, A. (2012) From social mix to political marginalisation? The redevelopment of Toronto's public housing and the dilution of tenant organisational power. In: Bridge, G., Butler, T. and Lees, L. (eds.) *Mixed communities: gentrification by stealth?* Bristol: The Policy Press, 273-297.

Bacqué, M-H., Bridge, G., Benson, M., Butler, T., Charmes, E., Fijalkow, Y., Jackson, E., Launay, L., Vermeersch, S. (2015) The middle classes and the city: a study of Paris and London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bauriedl, S. (2007): Spielräume Nachhaltiger Entwicklung: Die Macht stadtentwicklungs-politischer Diskurse. *Hochschulschriften zur Nachhaltigkeit*, 27, München: Oekom Verlag.

Bailey, N. and Manzi, T. (2010) Governing through community? A comparative study of changing management practices in mixed tenure housing development. *Conference paper to be presented at: Comparative Housing Research – Approaches*

*and Challenges in a New International Era*, TU Delft, Netherlands, 23-25 March, 2010

Bell, D. and Jayne, M. (2004) *City of quarters: urban villages in the contemporary city*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Benson, M. and Jackson, E. (2012) Place-making and place maintenance: performativity, place and belonging among the middle classes, *Sociology*, 47 (4), 793-809.

Benson, M. and Jackson, E. (2014) Neither 'deepest, darkest Peckham' nor 'run-of-the-mill' East Dulwich: the middle classes and their 'others' in an Inner-London neighbourhood. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38 (4), 1195-1210.

Berry, B. J. L. (1985) Islands of renewal in seas of decay. In: Peterson, P. E. (ed.) (1985) *The New Urban Reality*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institute, 69-96.

Berry, B. J. L. (1999) Comment on Elvin K. Wyly and Daniel J. Hammel's 'Islands of Decay in Seas of Renewal: Housing Policy and the Resurgence of Gentrification'—Gentrification resurgent?

Berry, J. M., Portney, K. E., and Thomson, K. (1993). *The rebirth of urban democracy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Bianchini, F., Dawson, J., and Evans, R. (1992) Flagship projects in urban regeneration. In: Healey P., Davoudi S., Tavasanolu, S., O'Toole, M., Usher, D. (eds.) *Rebuilding the City: property-led urban regeneration*, London: E & FN Spon, 245-255.

Birchall, J. (1997) *The international co-operative movement*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Blaikie, N (2007) *Approaches to social enquiry: advancing knowledge*. 2nd edition. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press.

Blasberg, A., Kirchbach, R. and Sussebach, H. (2009) Der gelbe Planet. *Die Zeit*, 45, 29.10., 17-22.

Blokland, T. (2003) *Urban Bonds: social relations in an inner city neighbourhood*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Blokland, T. and Noordhoff, F. (2008) The end to urbanism: how the changing spatial structure of cities affected its social capital potentials. In: Blokland, T. and Savage, M. (2008) *Networked Urbanism: social capital in the city*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 105-125.

Blokland, T. and Savage, M. (2008) *Networked Urbanism: social capital in the city*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Blokland, T. and Rae, D. (2008) The end to urbanism: how the changing spatial structure of cities affected its social capital potentials. In: Blokland, T. and Savage, M. (eds.) (2008) *Networked Urbanism: social capital in the city*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 23-40.

Blokland, T. (2009) Celebrating local histories and defining neighbourhood communities: place-making in a gentrified neighbourhood. *Urban Studies*, 46 (8), 1593-1610.

Blokland, T. and van Eijk, G. (2012) Mixture without mating: partial gentrification in the case of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. In: Bridge, G., Butler, T. and Lees, L. (eds.) *Mixed communities: gentrification by stealth?* Bristol: Policy Press, 299-318.

Bodemann, U. (2002), HafenCity Hamburg - Anlass, Masterplan, Chancen. In: Schubert, D. (ed.) *Hafen- und Uferzonen im Wandel. Analysen und Planungen zur Revitalisierung der Waterfront in Hafenstädten*, Berlin: Leue, 99-118.

Boddy, M. (2007) Designer neighbourhoods: new-build residential development in nonmetropolitan UK cities - the case of Bristol. *Environment and Planning A*, 39, 86 – 105.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, London and New York: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J. (ed.) (1996) *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, Westport, CT: Greenwood, 241-58.

Bounds, M. and Morris, A. (2006) Second wave gentrification in inner-city Sydney. *Cities*, 23 (2), 99-108.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. London and New York, Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In: *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, Westport, CT: Greenwood, 241-58.

Bourdieu, P. (1999) Site effects. In: *The weight of the world: social suffering in contemporary society*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 123-9.

Boyer, C. (1992) Cities for sale: merchandising history as Southstreet Seaport, in Sorkin, M. (ed.) *Variations on a theme park: the new American city and the end of public space*. New York, Hill and Wang: 181-204.

Breckner, I., Menz, M. and González, T. (2008) Soziale Prozesse in der HafenCity – ein zusammenfassender Zwischenbericht, Hamburg, Juli, Technische Universität Hamburg.

Breckner, I. and Menzl, M. (2012) Neighbourliness in the city centre: reality and potential in the case of the Hamburg HafenCity. In: Helbrecht, I. and Dirksmeier, P. (eds.) *New urbanism: life, work, and space in the new downtown*, Farnham: Ashgate, 133-48.

Bridge, G. (2006) It's not just a question of taste: gentrification, the neighbourhood, and cultural capital, *Environment and Planning A*, 38, 1965-78.

Bridge, G. (2007) A global gentrifier class? *Environment and Planning A*, 39 (1), 32-46.

Bridge, G., Butler, T. and Lees, L. (eds.) (2012) *Mixed communities: gentrification by stealth?* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Briegleb, T. (2009a) Ohne Klinker geht es nicht. Die Architektur der Hamburger HafenCity ist nicht mutig, sondern ein schwaches Remake des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 19 February, 13.

Briegleb, T. (2009b) Kampf um die Stadt, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9 November 2009, 13.

Bromley, R. D. F., Tallon, A. R., Roberts, A. J. (2007) New populations in the British city centre: evidence of social change from the census and household surveys. *Geoforum*, 38, 138-54.

Bruns-Berentelg, J. (2012a) Social mix and encounter capacity – a pragmatic social model for a new downtown: the example of HafenCity Hamburg. In: Bridge, G., Butler, T. and Lees, L. (eds.) *Mixed communities: gentrification by stealth?* Bristol, The Policy Press: 69-94.

Bruns-Berentelg, J. (2012b) Die Kreation einer New Downtown und die Mechanismen der Urbanitätsentwicklung. In: Bruns-Berentelg, J., Walter, J. and Meyhöfer, D. (eds.) *HafenCity Hamburg: Das erste Jahrzehnt: Stadtentwicklung, Städtebau und Architektur*, *Arbeitshefte zur HafenCity* 6, Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 68-87.

Bruns-Berentelg, J., Eisinger, A., Kohler, M. and Menzl, M. (eds.) (2010) *HafenCity Hamburg: Neue öffentliche Begegnungsorte zwischen Metropole und Nachbarschaft*, Wien: Springer.

Bruns-Berentelg, J., Walter, J. and Meyhöfer, D. (eds.) (2012) *HafenCity Hamburg: Das erste Jahrzehnt: Stadtentwicklung, Städtebau und Architektur*, *Arbeitshefte zur HafenCity* 6, Hamburg: Junius Verlag.

Bulmer, M. (1986) *Neighbours: the work of Philip Abrams*, Cambridge, London, New York et al.: Cambridge University Press.

- Burzan, N. (2007) Soziale Ungleichheit: Eine Einführung in die zentralen Theorien. 3rd edition. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Butler, T. (1997) Gentrification and the middle classes, Aldershot and Brookfield: Ashgate.
- Butler, T. (2003) Living in the bubble: gentrification and its 'others' in north London. *Urban Studies*, 40 (12), 2469-2486.
- Butler, T. (2007) Re-urbanizing London Docklands: gentrification, suburbanization, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Butler, T. (2008) Social capital and the formation of London's middle classes. In: Blokland, T. and Savage, M. (eds.) (2003) *Urban Bonds: social relations in an inner city neighbourhood*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 217-36.
- Butler T. and Robson, G. (2003) London calling: the middle classes and the remaking of Inner London, Oxford and New York: Berg.
- Butler T. and Robson, G. (2001) Social capital, gentrification and neighbourhood change in London: a comparison of three South London neighbourhoods. *Urban Studies*, 38 (12), 2145-2162.
- Butler, T. and Savage, M. (1995) Social Change and the Middle Classes, London: UCL Press.
- Buzar S., Hall R., and Ogden, PE. (2007) Beyond gentrification: the democratic re-urbanisation of Bologna. *Environment and Planning A*, 39 (1), 64–85.
- Clay, P. L. (1979) The mature revitalized neighborhood: emerging issues in gentrification. In: Lees, L., Slater, T. and Wyly, E. (eds.) *The gentrification reader*, New York and London: Routledge, 37-39.
- Caulfield, J. (1989) Gentrification and desire. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 26 (4), 617-632.
- Carroll J., and Connell J., (2000) ' "You gotta love this city": the Whitlams and inner Sydney'. *Australian Geographer*, 31 (2), 141-154.
- Chaskin, R. and Abunimah, A. (1999) A view from the city: local government perspectives on neighborhood-based governance in community-building initiatives. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 21(1): 57-78.
- Cheshire, L. and Woods, M. (2009) Rural citizenship and governmentality. In: Kitchin, R. and Thrift, N. (eds.) *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography*. London: Elsevier.
- Christiaanse, K. (2000) Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Urbanität. In: Wentz, M. (ed.) *Die kompakte Stadt*. Frankfurt a. M., New York: Campus, 177-183.



Christensen, P. and O'Brien, M. (eds.) (2003) *Children in the city: home, neighbourhood and community*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Churchman, A. and Ginosar, O. (1999) A theoretical basis for the post-occupancy evaluation of neighbourhoods. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 19 (3), 267-76.

Coaffee, J. and Healey, P. (2003) 'My voice: my place': tracking transformations in urban governance. *Urban Studies*, 40 (10), 1979-99.

Cohen, J., Arato, A. (1992) *Civil society and political theory*. Cambridge, Ma: MIT Press.

Coleman, S, Gotze, J (2001) *Bowling together: online public engagement in policy deliberation*. London, Hansard Society.

Couch, C., Karecha, J., Nuissl, H. and Rink, D. (2010) Decline and sprawl: an evolving type of urban development – observed in Liverpool and Leipzig, *European Planning Studies*, 13 (1), 117-36.

Couch, C., Sykes, O. and Börstinghaus, W. (2011) Thirty years of urban regeneration in Britain, Germany and France: the importance of context and path dependency, *Progress in Planning*, 75 (1), 1-52.

Criekingen, van, V. (2010) 'Gentrifying the re-urbanisation debate', not vice versa: the uneven socio-spatial implications of changing transitions to adulthood in Brussels, *Population, Space and Place*, 16 (5), 381–394.

Curran, W. (2004) Gentrification and the nature of work: exploring the links in Williamsburg, Brooklyn. *Environment and Planning A*, 36, 1243-1258.

Dahrendorf, R. (1965) *Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland*. München and Zürich: Piper.

Dangschat, J .S . (1988) Gentrification - Der Wandel innenstadtnaher Wohnviertel (Gentrification- the change of inner city neighbourhoods). *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Sonderheft 29, 272- 292.

Dangschat, J. (1993) Gentrification in Hamburg. In: Weesep, J. v., and Musterd, S. (eds.) *Urban housing for the better-off: gentrification in Europe*, Utrecht: Stedelijke Netwerken, 63-88.

Dansereau, F., Charbonneau, S., Morin, R., Revillard, A. and Seguin A. M. (2002) *La mixité en habitation*, Montreal: INRS.

Davidson (2007) Gentrification as global habitat: a process of class formation or corporate creation? *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 32 (4), 490-506.

Davidson, M. (2009) London's blue ribbon network: riverside renaissance along the

Thames. In: Imrie, R., Lees, L. and Raco, M. (eds.) *Regenerating London: governance, sustainability and community in a global city*, London and New York: Routledge, 173-91.

Davidson M. and Lees L. (2005) New-build 'gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance. *Environment and Planning A*, 37 (7), 1165–1190.

Davidson M. and Lees L. (2009) New-build gentrification: its histories, trajectories, and critical geographies. *Population, Space and Place*, 16 (5), 395-411.

Dignan, J. and A. Sorsby (1999) *Resolving Neighbour Disputes through Mediation in Scotland*. Scottish Office Central Research Unit.

Dirksmeier, P. (2010) Super-Gentrification und metropolitaner Habitus: eine Kritik jüngerer Entwicklungen in der britischen Gentrificationforschung, *Raumforschung und Raumordnung*, 68 (6), 447-457.

Dörfler, T. (2011) Antinomien des (neuen) Urbanismus. Henri Lefebvre, die HafenCity Hamburg und die Produktion des posturbanen Raumes: eine Forschungsskizze. *Raumforschung und Raumordnung*, 69 (2), 91-104.

Dörting, T. (2008) Zauberformel für die Hafencity. *Der Spiegel Special*, 4, 72-75.

Duany, A. and Plater-Zyberk, E. (1992) The second coming of the American small town. *Wilson Quarterly*, 16 (1), 3-51.

Dziomba, M. (2012) Major town planning projects in urban renaissance: structuring property sales for future urbanity? In: Helbrecht, I. and Dirksmeier, P. (eds.) *New urbanism: life, work, and space in the new downtown*, Farnham: Ashgate, 121-32.

Edwards, A. (2008) What e-politicians do with words: online communication between councillors and citizens, *Information Polity*, 13 (3,4), 233-248.

Elshtain, J. (1995) In common together: unity, diversity and civic virtue. In: Walzer, M. (ed.) *Toward a global civil society*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Eichwald, B. and Lutz, K. J. (2011) Erfolgsmodell Genossenschaften: Möglichkeiten für eine wertorientierte Marktwirtschaft, Wiesbaden: Deutscher Genossenschafts-Verlag.

Fainstein, S. (2001) *The city builders: property development in New York and London, 1980-2000*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Falconer Al-Hindi, K, Staddon, C (1997) The hidden histories and geographies of neotraditional town planning: the case of Seaside, Florida. *Environment and Planning D*, 15 (3): 359-372.

- Flint, J. and Rowlands, R. (2003) Commodification, normalisation and intervention: Cultural, social and symbolic capital in housing consumption and governance. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 18 (3), 213-232.
- Florida, R. (2002) *The rise of the creative class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*, New York: Basic Books.
- Florida, R. (2004) *Cities and the creative class*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Forrest, R. and Kearns, R. (2001) Social cohesion, social capital and the neighbourhood. *Urban Studies*, 38 (12), 2125–2143.
- Freeman, L. and F. Braconi (2002) Gentrification and displacement. *The Urban Prospect*, 8 (1), 1–4.
- Friedrichs, J. (1983) *Stadtanalyse: soziale und räumliche Organisation der Gesellschaft*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Gale, D. E. (1979) *The back-to-the-city movement...or is it?*, occasional paper, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, George Washington University.
- Gamson, W. A. (1968) *Power and discontent*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.
- Gedaschko, A. (2007) Vorwort. In: Hamburg (2007) – Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt *Wachsende Stadt – Grüne Metropole am Wasser: Räumliches Leitbild: Entwurf*, Hamburg, 6.
- Gans, H. J. (1967) *The Levittowners: ways of life and politics in a new suburban community*. London, Allen Lane: The Penguin Press.
- Geefroi, C. (2012) Der lange Weg zur Exzellenz. *Baumeister*, Juli, 80-1.
- Geißler, R. (2014) *Die Sozialstruktur Deutschlands*. 7th edition. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L. (1967) *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Aldine.
- Glass, R. (1964) *Introduction to London: aspects of change*. Centre for Urban Studies, London (reprinted in Glass, R. (1989) *Cliche's of Urban Doom*, 132–158. Oxford: Blackwell).
- Goodman, R., Douglas, K. and Babacan, A. (2010) Master planned estates and collective private assets in Australia: research into the attitudes of planners and developers. *International Planning Studies*, 15 (2), 99-117

- Goss, J (1996) Disquiet on the waterfront: reflections on nostalgia and utopia in the urban archetypes of festival marketplaces. *Urban Geography*, 17 (3), 221-247.
- Gouldner, A. W. (1979) Future of intellectuals and the rise of the new class. New York: Macmillan.
- Gwyther, G. (2005) Paradise planned: community formation and the master planned estate. *Urban Policy and Research*, 23 (1), 57-72.
- Franklin, B. and Tait, M. (2002) Constructing an image: the urban village concept in the UK. *Planning Theory*, 1 (3), 250-272.
- Haase, A., Kabisch, S., Steinführer, A., Bouzarovski, S., Hall, R. and Ogden, P. (2010) Emergent Spaces of Reurbanisation: exploring the demographic dimension of inner-city residential change in a European setting. *Population, Space and Place*, 16 (5), 443-463.
- Hackworth, J. (2001) Inner-city real estate investment, gentrification, and economic recession in New York City. *Environment and Planning A*, 33, 863-880.
- Hackworth, J. (2002) Post-recession gentrification in New York City. *Urban Affairs Review*, 37 (6), 815-43.
- Hackworth, J. and N. Smith (2001) The changing state of gentrification. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 92 (4), 464-77.
- HafenCity (2004) HafenCity Hamburg News 1, November.
- HafenCity (2006) HafenCity Hamburg: the masterplan. New edition 2006. *Reihe Arbeitshefte zur HafenCity*, 4, Hamburg.
- HafenCity (2007) HafenCity Hamburg News 10, October.
- HafenCity (2008a) HafenCity Hamburg News 11, March.
- HafenCity (2008b) HafenCity Hamburg News 12, June.
- HafenCity (2008c) HafenCity Hamburg News 13, September.
- HafenCity (2009) HafenCity Hamburg News 17, September.
- HafenCity Hamburg (2010): Nachhaltiges Bauen in der HafenCity: Umweltzeichen HafenCity, Hamburg: HafenCity Hamburg GmbH.
- HafenCity (2011): HafenCity Hamburg News 23, March.
- HafenCity Zeitung (2010) HafenCity Zeitung: Nachrichten aus Ihrem Stadtteil: HafenCity, Speicherstadt, Katharinenviertel, Nr. 2, 1 February.

Hall R., and Ogden, P. (2003) The rise of living alone in Inner London: trends among the population of working age. *Environment and Planning A*, 35 (5): 871–888.

Hamburg (2006) (Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt) Wachsende Stadt Hamburg: Grüne Metropole am Wasser, Hamburg.

Hamnett, C. (1991) The blind men and the elephant: the explanation of gentrification. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 16 (2), 173-189.

Hamnett, C. and Whitelegg, D (2007) Loft conversion and gentrification in London: from industrial to postindustrial land use. *Environment and Planning A*, 39 (1), 106-24.

Hampel, T. (2004) (ed.) Speicherstadt und Hafencity: Zwischen Tradition und Vision. 2nd edition. Hamburg: Elbe&Flut.

Hampton, K. (2003) Grieving for a lost network: collective action in a wired suburb. *The Information Society*, 19 (5), 1-13.

Hampton, K. and Wellman, B. (2003) Neighboring in Netville: how the internet supports community and social capital in a wired suburb. *City & Community*, 2 (4), 277-311.

Handelskammer Hamburg (2015) Zahlen 2014/15, Hamburg.

Harvey, D. (1989) From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annales*, B, 71 (1), 3-18.

Harvey, D (1990) The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change. Oxford, Blackwell.

Hastings, A. (2003) Strategic, multilevel neighbourhood regeneration: an outward-looking approach at last? In: Imrie, R. and Raco, M. (eds.) *Urban Renaissance? New labour, community and urban policy*, Bristol: Policy Press, 85-100.

Häußermann, H., Läßle, D. and Siebel, W. (2008) Stadtpolitik. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Häußermann, H. and Siebel, W. (eds.) (2004) Stadtsoziologie: Eine Einführung, Frankfurt and New York: Campus.

Heer, F. (1976) Urbanität, heute. *Die Stadt*, 21, 1-11.

Helbrecht, I. and Dirksmeier, P. (eds.) (2012) New urbanism: life, work, and space in the new downtown, Farnham: Ashgate.

Holms, A. (2010) Townhouses, Urban Village, Car Loft Berliner Luxuswohnanlagen als 'dritte Welle' der Gentrification. *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 98 (2), 100-115

Hortmann, W. (1990) Kulturraum Europa: Urbanität als kommunale und regionale Aufgabe. In: Fischer, D., Frey, R. and Paziorek, P. (eds.) *Vom Lokalen zum Globalen. Die Kommunen und ihre Außenbeziehungen innerhalb und außerhalb der EG*, Düsseldorf: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 129-153.

Hradil, S. (2001) Soziale Ungleichheit in Deutschland. 8th edition. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Imrie, R. and Raco, M. (eds.) (2003) Urban renaissance? New labour, community and urban policy, Bristol: Policy Press.

Imrie, R. Lees, L. and Raco, M. (eds.) (2009) Regenerating London: governance, sustainability and community in a global city, London and New York: Routledge.

Jacob, W. (2007) Was Nützt die Liebe in Gedanken? Der schwere Sprung in eine bessere Stadtarchitektur: Hamburgs HafenCity wächst langsam, aber beständig, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 December, 39.

Jager, M. (1986) Class definition and the esthetics of gentrification: Victoriana in Melbourne, *Gentrification of the City*, Boston: Allen und Unwin, 78-91.

Jessen, J. (2005) Leitbilder der Stadtentwicklung. In: Akademie f. Raumforschung und Landesplanung (ARL) (ed.) *Handwörterbuch der Raumordnung*, Hannover: ARL, 602-8.

Karavatzis, M. and Ashworth, G. J. (2007) Partners in coffeeshops, canals and commerce: Marketing the city of Amsterdam. *Cities*, 24 (1), 16–25.

Karsten, L. (2003) Family Gentrifiers: Challenging the City as a Place Simultaneously to Build a Career and to Raise Children. *Urban Studies*, 40 (12), 2573-2584.

Katz, P. (1994) The new urbanism: toward an architecture of community, New York: McGraw Hill.

Kern, L. (2010) Gendering reurbanisation: women and new-build gentrification in Toronto. *Population, Space and Place*, 16 (5), 363-379.

Klessmann, E. (2002) Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg, Hamburg: Die Hanse in der Europäischen Verlagsanstalt.

Kloosterman, R. (2012) Planning for creativity: the transformation of the Amsterdam Eastern Docklands. In: Helbrecht, I. and Dirksmeier, P. (eds.) (2012) *New urbanism: life, work, and space in the new downtown*, Ashgate: Farnham, 48-61.

Krieger, M. (2006) Geschichte Hamburgs, München: C. H. Beck.

Langdon, P. (1988) *A better place to live: reshaping the American suburb*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Läpple, D., Mückenberger, U. and Oßenbrügge, J. (eds.) (2010) *Zeiten und Räume der Stadt: Theorie und Praxis*, Opladen and Farmington Hills: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1987) *The end of organized capitalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Laska, S. B. and Spain, D. (1980) *Back to the city: issues in neighborhood renovation*, New York et al.: Pergamon Press.

Laurier, E., Whyte, A. and Buckner, K. (2002) Neighbouring as an occasioned activity: 'finding a lost cat'. *Space and Culture*, 5 (4): 346-67.

Lee, B., Oropesa, R. S., Metch, B. J. and Guest, A. M. (1984) Testing the decline-of-community thesis: neighborhood organizations in Seattle, 1929 and 1979. *American Journal of Sociology*, 89 (5), 1161-1188.

Lees, L. (1996) In the pursuit of difference: representations of gentrification. *Environment and Planning A*, 28, 453-470.

Lees, R. (2003) Visions of 'urban renaissance': the Urban Task Force report and the Urban White Paper. In: Imrie, R. and Raco, M. (eds.) (2003) *Urban renaissance? New labour, community and urban policy*, Bristol: Policy Press, 61-82.

Lees, L. (ed.) (2004) *The emancipatory city: paradoxes and possibilities*, Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage.

Lees, L. (2008) Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance? *Urban Studies*, 45 (12), 2449-2470.

Lees, L. (2012) Planning urbanity – a contradiction in terms? In: Helbrecht, I. and Dirksmeier, P. (eds.) *New urbanism: life, work, and space in the new downtown*. Ashgate: Farnham, 23-38.

Lees, L. (2014) The Urban Injustices of New Labour's 'New Urban Renewal': The Case of the Aylesbury Estate in London. *Antipode*, 46 (4), 921-47.

Lees, L. and Ley, D. (2008) Introduction to special issue on gentrification and public policy. *Urban Studies*, 45 (2), 2379-2384.

Lees, L. Slater, T. and Wyly, H. (2008) *Gentrification*, New York and Abingdon: Routledge.

Lefebvre, H. (2000): *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (2003) *The urban revolution*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

- Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The production of space*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lepofsky, J. and Fraser, J. C. (2003) Building community citizens: claiming the right to place-making in the city. *Urban Studies*, 40 (1): 127-42.
- Ley, D. (1996) *The new middle class and the remaking of the central city*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ley, D. (2012) Waterfront redevelopment: global processes and local contingencies in Vancouver's False Creek. In: Helbrecht, I. and Dirksmeier, P. (eds.) *New urbanism: life, work, and space in the new downtown*. Farnham: Ashgate, 47-61.
- Lieberman, M. B. and Montgomery, D. B. (1988) First-mover advantages. *Strategic Management Journal*, 9 (Summer), 41-58.
- Löw, M. (2001) *Raumsoziologie*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Lyons, M., Smuts, C. and Stephens, A. (2001) Participation, empowerment and sustainability: (how) do the links work? *Urban Studies*, 38 (8), 1233-51.
- MacCannell, D. (1999) New urbanism and its discontents. In: Copjec, J. and Sorkin, M. (eds.) *Giving ground: the politics of propinquity*, London and New York: Verso.
- Marcuse, P. (1985) Gentrification, abandonment and displacement: connections, causes and policy responses in New York City. *Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law* 28, 195-240.
- Markus, T. A. (1972) Building performance. *Building performance research unit*, School of Architecture, University of Strathclyde. Applied Science Publishers, Strathclyde.
- Markusen, A. (1981) City spatial structure, women's household work, and national urban policy. In: Stimpson, C. R., Dixler, E., Nelson, M. J. and Yatrakis, K. B., (eds.) (1982) *Women and the city*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 20-41.
- Martin, D. G. (2004) Reconstructing urban politics: neighborhood activism in land-use change. *Urban Affairs Review*, 39 (5), May, 589-612.
- Matthews, H. (2003) The street as liminal space: the barbed spaces of childhood. In: Christensen, P. and O'Brien, M. (eds.) *Children in the city: home, neighbourhood and community*. London: Routledge Falmer, 110-117.
- Menzl, M., Gonzalez, T., Breckner, I. and Vogelsang, S. (eds.) (2011) *Wohnen in der HafenCity: Zuzugsmotive, Alltagserfahrungen, nachbarschaftliche Aktivitäten*, Materialien zur HafenCity Hamburg, Nr. 1, Hamburg: Junius.
- Meulemann, H. (1996) *Werte und Wertewandel*, Weinheim: Juventa-Verlag.



Meyhöfer, D. (2009) Hamburg: Der Architekturführer, Berlin: Verlagshaus Braun.

Meyhöfer, D. (2012) Die ersten Jahre der HafenCity: Reiner Nagel und Uwe Bodemann im Gespräch mit Dirk Meyhöfer. In: Bruns-Berentelg, J., Walter, J. and Meyhöfer, D. (eds.) *HafenCity Hamburg: Das erste Jahrzehnt: Stadtentwicklung, Städtebau und Architektur, Arbeitshefte zur HafenCity* 6, Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 34-41.

Michalski, W. (2010) Hamburg. Erfolge und Erfahrungen in der globalisierten Welt, Hamburg, Murmann Verlag.

Mikecz, R. (2012), Interviewing elites: addressing methodological issues. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 18 (6), 482-493.

Miller, P. and Rose, N. (2008) *Governing the Present: Administering Economic, Social and Personal Life*, Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press.

Mills, C. A. (1988) Life on the upslope: the postmodern landscape of gentrification. *Environment and Planning D*, 6 (2), 169-189.

Minnery, J. and Bajracharya, B. (1999) Visions, planning processes and outcomes: master planned communities in South East Queensland. *Australian Planner*, 36 (1), 33-41.

Morison, J. (2000) The government–voluntary sector compacts: governance, governmentality and civil society. *Journal of Law and Society*, 27 (1), 98–132.

Molotch, H. (1976) The city as a growth machine: toward a political economy of place. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 82 (2), 309–332.

Mückenberger, U., Oßenbrügge, J. and Läßle, D. (2007) Alltagsorganisation und Zeitkonflikte in der 'postfordistischen' Stadt: Herausforderungen für die Entwicklung städtischer Quartiere und Infrastrukturen – Anforderungen an eine praxisnahe Forschung, Hamburg: VERA.

Müller, M. (2007) What's in a word? *Area*, 29 (2), 206-13.

Newman, K. and E. Wyly (2006) The right to stay put, revisited: gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York City. *Urban Studies*, 43 (1), 23–57.

NION, Brand Hamburg (Initiative Not in Our Name, Marke Hamburg) (2010) Alternatives: Not in our name! Jamming the gentrification machine: a manifesto, *City*, 14 (3), 323-5.

North, P. (2003) Communities at the heart? Community action and urban policy in the UK. In: Imrie, R. and Raco, M. (eds.) (2003) *Urban renaissance? New labour, community and urban policy*, Bristol: Policy Press, 121-38.

O'Brien, C (1997) Form, function and sign: signifying the past in urban waterfront regeneration. *Journal of Urban Design*, 2, (2), 163 -178.

- O'Brien, M. (2003) Regenerating children's neighbourhoods: what do children want? In: Christensen, P. and O'Brien, M. (eds.) *Children in the city: home, neighbourhood and community*. London: Routledge Falmer, 142-161.
- Pearson, L. F. (1988) The architectural and social history of cooperative living, London: Macmillan.
- Peck, J. (2005) Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29 (4), 740-70.
- Peters, M. (2001) Education, Enterprise Culture and the Entrepreneurial Self: A Foucauldian Perspective. *Journal of Educational Enquiry*, 2 (2), 58-71.
- Phillips, M. (2004) Other geographies of Gentrification. *Progress in Human Geography*, 28, (7), 5-30.
- Pierce, J., Martin, D. and Murphy, T. (2011) Relational place-making: the networked politics of place. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 36 (1), 54-70.
- Pløger, J. (2010) Urbanity, (neo)vitalism and becoming. In: Healey, P. and Hillier, J. (eds.) *The Ashgate research companion to planning theory: conceptual challenges for spatial planning*, London: Ashgate, 319-342.
- Piorier Elliott, M. L. (1999) The Role of Facilitators, Mediators, and other Consensus Building Practitioners. In: Susskind, L., McKernan, S. and Thomas-Larmer, J. (eds.) (1999) *The consensus building handbook: a comprehensive guide to reaching agreement*, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 199-241.
- Pratt, A. (2010) Creative cities: tensions within and between social, cultural and economic development: a critical reading of the UK experience. *City, Culture and Society*, 1 (1): 13-20.
- Raco, M. and Flint, J. (2001) Communities, places and institutional relations: assessing the role of area-based community representation in local governance. *Political Geography*, 20 (5), 585-612.
- Raco, M. (2003) Governmentality, subject-building, and the discourses and practices of devolution in the UK. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 28 (1), 75-95.
- Reeve, A. C., Desha, C., Hargroves, K., Hargreaves, D. and Newman, P. (2013) Considering a whole-of-community approach to integrating nature in cities, an international case study of Vauban, Germany. In: *Sustainable Engineering Society (SEng) 2013 Conference: Looking back. looking forward*, 18 – 20 September 2013, National Convention Centre, Canberra, ACT.
- Rérat, P., Söderström, O. and Piguet, E. (2010) Guest Editorial: New forms of gentrification: issues and debates. *Population, Space and Place*, 16 (5), 335-343.

- Riger, S. and Lavrakas, P. J. (1981) Community ties: patterns of attachment and social interaction in urban neighborhoods. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 9 (1), 55-66.
- Robson, G. and Butler, T. (2001) Coming to terms with London: middle-class communities in a global city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25 (1), 70-86.
- Rofo, M. W. (2003) 'I want to be global': theorising the gentrifying class as an emergent élite global community, *Urban Studies*, 40 (12), 2511-2526.
- Rose, D. (1984) Rethinking Gentrification: Beyond the Uneven Development of Marxist Urban Theory. *Environment and Planning D*, 2 (1), 47-74.
- Rose, D. (2000) Local State Policy and 'New-Build Gentrification' in Montréal: the Role of the 'Population Factor' in a Fragmented Governance Context
- Rose, D. (2010) Local state policy and 'new-build gentrification' in Montréal: the role of the 'population factor' in a fragmented governance context. *Population, Space and Place*, 16 (5), 413-428.
- Rose, D. and Villeneuve, P. (2006) Life stages, living arrangements and lifestyles. In: Bunting, T. and Filion, P. (eds.) *Canadian Cities in Transition: Local through Global Perspectives*. 3rd edition. Toronto : Oxford University Press Canada, 138-53.
- Rose, N. (1999) Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenblatt, T., Cheshire, L. and Lawrence, G. (2009) Social interaction and sense of community in a master planned community. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 26 (2), 122-42.
- Ross, A. (2000) The Celebration chronicles: life, liberty and the pursuit of property value in Disney's new town. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Sassen, S. (2001) The global city: New York, London, Tokyo. 2nd edition. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Savage, M. (2000) Class Analysis and Social Transformation, Buckingham Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Savage, M (2010) The politics of elective belonging. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 27 (2), 115-161.
- Savage, M., Bagnall, G. and Longhurst, B. J. (2005) Globalization and belonging, Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage.
- Savage, M., Tampubolon, G. and Warde, A. (2008) Political participation, social networks and the city. In: Blokland, T. and Savage, M. (eds.) *Networked Urbanism: social capital in the city*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 171-95.

Sayer, A. (2005) *The moral significance of class*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schelsky, H. (1979) *Die Hoffnung Blochs. Kritik der marxistischen Existenzphilosophie eines Jugendbewegten*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag.

Schubert, D. (2001a) Festival market places als Revitalisierungsstrategie für brachgefallene Hafen- und Uferzonen in Boston, New York, Baltimore und Seattle: Learning from North America and see you in Disneyland? In: Schubert, D. (ed.) *Hafen- und Uferzonen im Wandel: Analysen und Planungen Zur Revitalisierung der Waterfront in Hafenstädten*, Berlin: Leue Verlag, 319-360.

Schubert, D. (2001b) P3/A2-Projekt: Wohnen in der HafenCity, Hamburg: Technische Universität Hamburg Harburg.

Schubert, D (2007) Hamburg, die HafenCity: Wohnen und Arbeiten zwischen Speicherstadt und Elbe. In: Harlander, T. (ed.) *Stadtwohnen: Geschichte, Städtebau, Perspektiven*, München: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 370-75.

Scott, A. J. (2006) Creative cities: conceptual issues and policy questions. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28 (1), 1-17.

Scott, S. and Parkey, H. (1998) Myths and Reality: Anti-social Behaviour in Scotland. *Housing Studies*, 13 (3), 325-345.

Selznick, P. (1948) *TVA and the grass roots: a study of the sociology of formal organization*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Sharp, E. B. (1990) *Urban politics and administration: From service delivery to economic development*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Shorthose, J. (2004) Nottingham's *de facto* cultural quarter: the Lace Market, independents and a convivial ecology. In: Bell, D., Jayne, M (eds.) (2004) *City of quarters: urban villages in the contemporary city*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 149-162.

Slater, T. (2006) The eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30 (4), 737-57.

Slater, Tom (2009) Missing Marcuse: On gentrification and displacement. *City*, 13:2, 292- 311.

Smith, N. (1987) Of yuppies and housing: gentrification, social restructuring and the urban dream. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 5, 151–72.

Smith, N. (1996) *The new urban frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city*, London and New York: Routledge.

Smith, N. and P. Williams (eds.) (1986) *Gentrification of the city*, London: Allen and Unwin.

Smith, H. and Soledad Garcia Ferrari, M. (2012) Experiences in Participation in the Port City of Hamburg. In: Smith, H. and Soledad Garcia Ferrari, M. (eds.) *Waterfront regeneration: experiences in city-building*, New York: Routledge, 95-114.

Sommerville, P. (2005) Community governance and democracy. *Policy & Politics*, 33 (1), 117-44.

Sonnemann, T. (1977) *Die Neue Mitte und die Genossenschaften*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

Souza Briggs, de, X. (1998) Brown kids in white suburbs: housing mobility and the many faces of social capital, *Housing Policy Debate*, 9 (1), 177-221.

Susskind, L. (1999) An alternative to Robert's rules of order for groups, organizations, and ad hoc assemblies that want to operate by consensus. In: Susskind, L., McKernan, S. and Thomas-Larmer, J. (eds.) *The consensus building handbook: a comprehensive guide to reaching agreement*, 3-59.

Susskind, L., McKernan, S. and Thomas-Larmer, J. (eds.) (1999) *The consensus building handbook: a comprehensive guide to reaching agreement*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Talen, E. (1999) Sense of community and neighbourhood form: an assessment of the social doctrine of new urbanism. *Urban Studies* 36 (8), 1361-79.

Taylor, M. (2007) Community participation in the real world: opportunities and pitfalls in new governance spaces. *Urban Studies*, 44 (2), 297-317.

Tewdwr-Jones, M. (2009) Governing London: the evolving institutional and planning landscape. In: Imrie, R., Lees, L. and Raco, M. (eds.) *Regenerating London: governance, sustainability and community in a global city*, London and New York: Routledge, 58-73.

Tunbridge, J. (1988) Policy convergence on the waterfront? A comparative assessment of North American revitalization strategies, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds.) *Revitalising the waterfront: international dimensions of dockland redevelopment*. London: Belhaven Press, 67-91.

Tweeddale, I. (1988) Waterfront redevelopment, economic restructuring and social impact. In: Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A., and Husain, M. S. (eds.) *Revitalising the waterfront: international dimensions of dockland redevelopment*. London: Belhaven Press: 185-198.

Urry, J. (2002) *The tourist gaze*. 2nd edition. London: Sage.

van der Horst, D. (2007) NIMBY or not? Exploring the relevance of location and the politics of voiced opinions in renewable energy siting controversies. *Energy Policy*, 35 (5), 2705-2714.

- Versteeg, W. and Hajer, M. (2010) Is this how it is, or is this how it is here? Making sense of politics in planning. In: Healey, P. and Hillier, J. (eds.) *The Ashgate research companion to planning theory: conceptual challenges for spatial planning*, London: Ashgate, 159-181.
- Vester, M. (2005) Class and Culture in Germany. In: Devine, F., Savage, M., Scott, J. and Crompton, R. (eds.) *Rethinking class: culture, identities and lifestyle*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 69-94.
- Waitt, G. (2004) Pyrmont-Ultimo: the newest chic quarter of Sydney. In: Bell, D., Jayne, M. (eds.) (2004) *City of quarters: urban villages in the contemporary city*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 15-36.
- Walter, J. (2007) In: Hamburg (2007) – Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt Wachsende Stadt – Grüne Metropole am Wasser: Räumliches Leitbild: Entwurf, Hamburg, 8.
- Walter, J. (2012) Städtebau und Urbanität in der HafenCity. In: Bruns-Berentelg, J., Meyhöfer, D. and Walter, J. (eds.) *HafenCity Hamburg. Das erste Jahrzehnt. Stadtentwicklung, Städtebau und Architektur*. Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 11-27.
- Walzer, M. (1995) *Toward a global civil society*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books
- Warde, A. (1991) Gentrification as consumption issues of class and gender. *Environment and Planning: D Society and Space*, 9 (2), 223-32.
- Wegner, B., Pieper, A., and Stahncke, H. (eds.) (2012) *Wohnen bei Genossenschaften: Basics - Geschichte - Projekte*, Hamburg: Ellert und Richter Verlag.
- Weck, S. (2009) Local economic development in area-based urban regeneration in Germany. *Local Economy*, 24 (6-7), 523-535.
- Wellman, B. (2005) Community: from neighbourhood to network. *Communications of the ACM*, 48 (10), 53-55.
- Wolsink, M (2007) Wind power and the NIMBY-myth: institutional capacity and the limited significance of public support. *Renewable Energy*, 21 (1), 49-64.
- Wright, S. and Street, J. (2007) Democracy, deliberation and design: the case of online discussion forums. *New Media & Society*, 9 (5), 849-69.
- Wüst, T. (2007) The urbanity myth: excerpts from Urbanität. Ein Mythos und sein Potential. *The Urban Reinventors Paper Series*, 2, November.
- Wyly, E. K. and Hammel (2001) Gentrification, housing policy, the new context of urban redevelopment. In: Fox Gotham, K (ed.) *Research in Urban Sociology*, 6, Critical perspectives on urban development, London: Elsevier, 211-76.

Zukin, S. (1982) *Loft living: culture and capital in urban change*, Baltimore and London, John Hopkins University Press.

Zukin, S. (1987) Gentrification: culture and capital in the urban core. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13, 129-47.

Zukin, S. (1991) *Landscapes of power: from Detroit to Disney World*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, University of California Press.

### **Online sources:**

Becker (2010):

<http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/hafencity-auffuehrung-punk-oder-bank-das-ist-hier-die-frage-a-715397.html>

[15 February 2016]

bildungsserver.de:

<http://www.bildungsserver.de/db/mlesen.html?Id=16565>

[11 February 2016]

Busà, A. (2007) Celebrations of urbanity: editorial. *The Urban Reinventors*, 2, December.

[www.urbanreinventors.net/2/busa-urbanreinventors.pdf](http://www.urbanreinventors.net/2/busa-urbanreinventors.pdf)

[15 February 2016]

Butler, T. (2002) Thinking global but acting local: the middle classes in the city, *Sociological Research Online*, 7(3).

<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/7/3/butler.html>

[11 February 2016]

City of Hamburg (2002):

<http://www.cdu-harburg.de/content/wachsendestadt.pdf>

[13 February 2016]

destatis (2011):

[https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/VerdiensteArbeitskosten/ReallohnNetto/NettoverdiensteModellrechnung2160250117004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/VerdiensteArbeitskosten/ReallohnNetto/NettoverdiensteModellrechnung2160250117004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile)

[15 February 2016]

eurostat:

<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/5173666/1-27022014-AP-DE.PDF/50fc23f4-d6c6-4154-96ba-709f078da965>

[15 February 2016]

www.dw.com  
<http://www.dw.com/de/neues-kirchenzentrum-im-hamburger-hafen/a-16036512>  
[15 February 2016]

h-a 2015:  
<http://hamburg-ahoi.com/mediadaten/>  
[13 February 2016]

hafencityleben.de a:  
<http://hafencity-leben.de/forum/index.php?form=Search&searchID=101428&highlight=Ampel+-+Gr.+Grasbrook>  
[15 February 2016]

hafencityleben.de b:  
<http://hafencity-leben.de/forum/board22-wohnen-in-der-hafencity-hamburg/board8-tipps-wer-wei%DF-was/157-babysitter-gesucht/#post774>  
[15 February 2016]

hafencityleben.de c:  
<http://hafencity-leben.de/forum/board24-netzwerken-und-kl%F6nschnack/board5-kl%F6nschnack-f%FCr-alles-m%F6gliche-und-unm%F6gliche/343-stammtisch-hafencity/#post1430>  
[15 February 2016]

hafencityleben.de d:  
<http://hafencity-leben.de/forum/index.php?form=Search&searchID=96701&highlight=Nachbarschaft+streff+jeden+letzten+Donnerstag+im+Monat>  
[15 February 2016]

hafencityleben.de e:  
<http://hafencity-leben.de/forum/board24-netzwerken-und-kl%F6nschnack/board16-netzwerk-hafencity-e-v/518-quartiersbeirat-wer-ist-initiator-und-wer-wird-der-tr%E4ger/#post1920>  
[16 February 2016]

hafencitynews.de  
<http://www.hafencitynews.de/?s=Quartiersbeirat+>  
[18.10.2015]

HCH a:  
<http://www.hafencity.com/en/faq-concepts-planning/is-hafencity-causing-gentrification-.html>  
[15 February 2016]



HCH b:

<http://www.hafencity.com/en/concepts/living-in-hafencity-a-new-kind-of-urban-experience.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH c:

<http://www.hafencity.com/de/pressemeldungen/hafencity-hamburg-statusbericht-und-vorausschau.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH d:

[www.hafencity.com](http://www.hafencity.com)

[15 February 2016]

HCH e:

<http://www.hafencity.com/en/glossary/glossary-s-z.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH f:

<http://www.hafencity.com/de/faq-wohnen-arbeiten/was-kostet-wohnen-in-der-hafencity-.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH g:

<http://www.hafencity.com/de/konzepte/forschungsauftrag-freiraum.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH h:

<http://www.hafencity.com/de/pressemeldungen/quartierszentrum-am-baakenhafen-nimmt-gestalt-an.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH i:

<http://www.hafencity.com/de/am-lohsepark.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH j:

<http://www.pressebild.hafencity.com/de/ueberblick/chronik-die-entstehung-eines-neuen-stadtteils-p6.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH k:

<http://www.pressebild.hafencity.com/de/pressemeldungen/hafencity-hamburg-statusbericht-und-vorausschau.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH l:

<http://www.hafencity.com/de/presse-meldungen/der-masterplan-fuer-die-oestlichen-quartiere-der-hafencity-ist-ueberarbeitet.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH m:

<http://www.hafencity.com/en/living/hafencity-workplace-the-district-as-a-business-location.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH n:

<http://www.hafencity.com/en/living/curtain-up-hafencity-as-a-stage-for-art-and-culture.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCH o:

<http://www.hafencity.com/de/ueberblick/daten-fakten.html>

[15 February 2016]

HCU (2015):

<https://www.hcu-hamburg.de/universitaet/das-profil-der-hcu/geschichte/>

[15 February.2016]

hcu-hamburg.de:

<https://www.hcu-hamburg.de/universitaet/der-neubau/die-baugeschichte/>

[13 February 2016]

hwf (2015):

<http://www.hwf-hamburg.de/wirtschaftsstandort/2036950/medien-und-it/>

[15 February.2016]

hml-modernmarketing.de:

<http://images.google.de/imgres?imgurl=http://www.hml-modemarketing.de/fileadmin/medien/hml-sinus/grafiken/sinus-zielgruppen-01-en.png&imgrefurl=http://www.hml-modemarketing.de/en/hml-sinus-targets/&h=319&w=501&tbnid=DmzR3jz1->

[13 February 2016]

immowelt (2011):

[http://ratgeber.immowelt.de/fileadmin/images/Ratgeber/Anlage/Rendite/Grafiken\\_Mietpreise\\_Grossstaedte.pdf](http://ratgeber.immowelt.de/fileadmin/images/Ratgeber/Anlage/Rendite/Grafiken_Mietpreise_Grossstaedte.pdf)

[15 February.2016]

katharinenschule (2015):

<http://www.katharinenschule-hafencity.de/index.php?id=leitbild>

[15 February.2016]

Lambert C., Boddy. M. (2002) Transforming the city: post-recession gentrification and re-urbanisation", *CNR paper 6*, ESRC Centre for Neighbourhood Research, University of Bristol,  
<http://www.neighbourhoodcentre.org.uk/research/research.html>  
[not accessible]

lboro.ac.uk:  
<http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2012t.html>  
[15 February 2016]

linkfang (2015):  
[http://www.linkfang.de/wiki/Karovierteil#Wohnprojekte\\_und\\_Baugemeinschaften](http://www.linkfang.de/wiki/Karovierteil#Wohnprojekte_und_Baugemeinschaften)  
[12 February 2016]

Ludwig, A. and Ulrich, A. (2001)  
<http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-18257601.html>  
[15 February 2016]

morgenpost.de:  
<http://www.mopo.de/die-neue-hafencity-wir-wollen-hier-kein-luxusvierteil--20369246>  
[15 February 2016]

Oehmke:  
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/squatters-take-on-the-creative-class-who-has-the-right-to-shape-the-city-a-670600.html>  
[13 February 2016]

Rauterberg, H: (2009)  
<http://www.zeit.de/2009/48/Kuenstlermanifest>  
[13 February 2016]

ready2capture:  
<http://ready2capture.dekoder.de/>  
[12 February 2016]

Rebaschus, M. (2006) Neue Verkehrsachse an der Speicherstadt  
[www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article784395/Neue-Verkehrsachse-an-der-Speicherstadt.html](http://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article784395/Neue-Verkehrsachse-an-der-Speicherstadt.html)  
[15 February 2016]

Shaw, K. and Montana, G. (2014) Place-making in megaprojects in Melbourne, *Urban Policy and Research*,  
<http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/doi/pdf/10.1080/08111146.2014.967392>  
[11 February 2016]

Stimming, E. (2004):  
<http://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article106860029/Juergen-Bruns-Berentelg-Ermacht-die-HafenCity.html>  
[15 February 2016]

spiegel.de 2007:  
<http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/hamburger-hafencity-hot-spot-oder-kaltes-quartier-a-500999.html>  
[14 February 2016]

spiegel.de 2010:  
<http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/hamburger-gaengeviertel-besetzung-wir-wollten-ins-herz-der-stadt-a-712137-3.html>  
www.dw.com:  
<http://www.dw.com/de/neues-kirchenzentrum-im-hamburger-hafen/a-16036512>  
[14 February 2016]

SZ (2013):  
<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/hamburg-stadt-baut-elbphilharmonie-mit-hochtief-fertig-1.1657170>  
[15 February.2015]

taz 2010:  
<http://www.taz.de/1/archiv/digitaz/artikel/?ressort=ha&dig=2010%2F03%2F16%2Fa0031&cHash=52cf80d05e9b9f59d60e59ec525a2167>  
[15 February.2015]

Twickel, C. (2010):  
<http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/streit-ueber-hafencity-studie-reichenviertel-oder-oeko-superstadt-a-717386.html>  
[15 February.2015]

verkehrsrundschau.de  
<http://www.verkehrsrundschau.de/hamburg-2011-wieder-zweitgroesster-hafen-europas-1098364.html>  
[15 February.2015]



Appendix:     **Sociodemographic data of residents interviewed**  
                     (ordered by level of income)

Interviewee nr.	Gender	Age	Education	Profession	Household net Income in € <sup>1</sup>	People in household	Property type	Place lived before
1a <sup>2</sup>	m	40	university	architect	1,700-2,000	2 + 2 ch <sup>3</sup>	freehold	Inner Hamburg
1b	f	36	university	architect	1,700-2,000	2 + 2 ch	freehold	Inner Hamburg
2	f	73	primary school <sup>4</sup>	post office clerk (retired)	1,700-2,000	1	old age home	Suburban Hamburg
3	m	39	university	hotel management assistant	lower to middle <sup>5</sup>	2 + 2 ch	cooperative	elsewhere Germany
4a	m	66	university	photographer (retired)	2,000-2,600	2	building venture	Inner Hamburg
4b	f	69	university	teacher (retired)	2,000-2,600	2	building venture	Inner Hamburg
5	m	66	GCSE	technical assembler (retired)	2,000-2,600	1	cooperative	Inner Hamburg
6	f	39	A-Level	housewife	2,000-2,600	2	cooperative	Suburban Hamburg
7a	m	77	primary school	electrician (retired)	2,000-2,600	2	cooperative	elsewhere Germany
7b	f	73	GCE	wholesaler (retired)	2,000-2,600	2	cooperative	elsewhere Germany
8	m	70	university	school principal (retired)	2,600-3,200	1	building	Suburban Hamburg

<sup>1</sup> Income categories as used by Statistisches Bundesamt, Mikrozensus 2008.

<sup>2</sup> The letters "a" and "b" denote interviewees were married or living together as a couple.

<sup>3</sup> ch = children aged under 18

<sup>4</sup> Eight school years of primary education were widespread in Germany until the national educational reform in 1964 (bildungsserver.de).

<sup>5</sup> when respondents did not want to reveal monthly income, they were asked to assign their income according to descriptive categories commonly used by Federal and regional statistics office: precarious / relatively poor / lower to middle income / middle to higher income / higher income / wealthy

							venture	
9	f	29	GCSE	hairdresser	2,600-3,200	2	cooperative	Suburban Hamburg
10	m	37	university	doctor	2,600-3,200	1	cooperative	Inner Hamburg
11	m	46	university	IT consultant	2,600-3,200	1	cooperative	Suburban Hamburg
12a	m	63	university	programmer	2,600-3,200	2	cooperative	elsewhere Germany
12b	f	62	GCSE	finance consultant	2,600-3,200	2	cooperative	elsewhere Germany
13	f	55	university	aircraft technician	2,600-3,200	1	freehold	Suburban Hamburg
14	m	41	university	market researcher	3,200-4,500	2 + 3 ch	cooperative	Inner Hamburg
15	f	50	A-level	insurance agent	3,200-4,500	1	rented	Inner Hamburg
16	f	66	A-level	bank clerk	3,200-4,500	1	Rented	Suburban Hamburg
17a	m	38	GCSE	business administrator	4,500-5,500	2	building venture	Suburban Hamburg
17b	m	42	university	architect	4,500-5,500	2	building venture	Suburban Hamburg
18	m	63	university	university professor (retired)	4,500-5,500	2	cooperative	Suburban Hamburg
19	f	60	university	pastor	4,500-5,500	2	rented	elsewhere Germany
20	f	43	university	tax officer	4,500-5,500	2	freehold	Suburban Hamburg
21	m	64	university	branch manager (retired)	5,500-7,500	2	building venture	Inner Hamburg
22a	m	74	primary school	Electrician (retired)	5,500-7,500	2	cooperative	elsewhere Germany
22b	f	72	primary school	housewife	5,500-7,500	2	cooperative	elsewhere Germany
23	m	52	university	dentist / finance consultant	5,500-7,500	2	cooperative	Inner Hamburg
24	m	37	GCSE	retailer	5,500-7,500	2	cooperative	Inner Hamburg
25a	m	58	A-level	civil servant	5,500-7,500	2	cooperative	Suburban Hamburg
25b	f	61	A-level	civil servant	5,500-7,500	2	cooperative	Suburban Hamburg
26a	f	33	university	supply chain logistician	5,500-7,500	2 + 1 ch	rented	elsewhere Europe

26b	m	33	university	service delivery manager	5,500-7,500	2 + 1 ch	rented	elsewhere Europe
27	m	40	A-level	self-employed finance consultant	5,500-7,500	1	rented	Suburban Hamburg
28	m	42	university	marketing manager	5,500-7,500	1	rented	elsewhere Germany
29	f	62	A-level	personnel consultant	5,500-7,500	1	rented	Suburban Hamburg
30	m	64	GCSE	industrial sales representative (retired)	middle to higher	2	rented	periphery Hamburg
31	f	43	A-level	retailer	middle to higher	2	building venture	Suburban Hamburg
32	f	43	A-level	advertising manager	8,500-10,000	1	cooperative	Suburban Hamburg
33	m	62	university	self-employed personnel manager	8,500-10,000	2	rented	Suburban Hamburg
34	m	38	university	landlord for holiday lets	8,500-10,000	2 + 3 ch	freehold	Suburban Hamburg
35	m	41	university	self-employed business manager	10,000-12,000	1	co-owner of freehold	elsewhere Germany
36	m	64	university	university professor (retired)	10,000-12,000	2	Freehold	elsewhere Germany
37	f	38	university	office management assistant	wealthy	2 + 2 ch	freehold	Inner Hamburg
38	m	48	A-level	pilot	wealthy	1	rented	elsewhere Germany
39	m	52	A-level	IT-salesman	15,000-17,500	2	freehold	elsewhere Germany
40	m	42	GCSE	real estate agent	> 20,000	1	freehold	Suburban Hamburg
41	m	50	GCSE	ship owner	millionaire	2 + 1 ch	freehold	Inner Hamburg
42	f	43	university	marketing manager	n. a. <sup>6</sup>	1	cooperative	Hamburg
43a	m	45	Advanced technical certificate	logistician	n. a.	2	cooperative	elsewhere Germany

<sup>6</sup> n. a. = no answer given



43b	m	49	university	self-employed product designer	n. a.	2	cooperative	elsewhere Germany
44a	m	49	university	managing director	n. a.	2	rented	elsewhere Germany
44b	f	48	university	government official	n. a.	2	rented	elsewhere Germany
45	f	43	A-level	team assistant	n. a.	2 + 1 ch	building venture	Inner Hamburg

n = 55